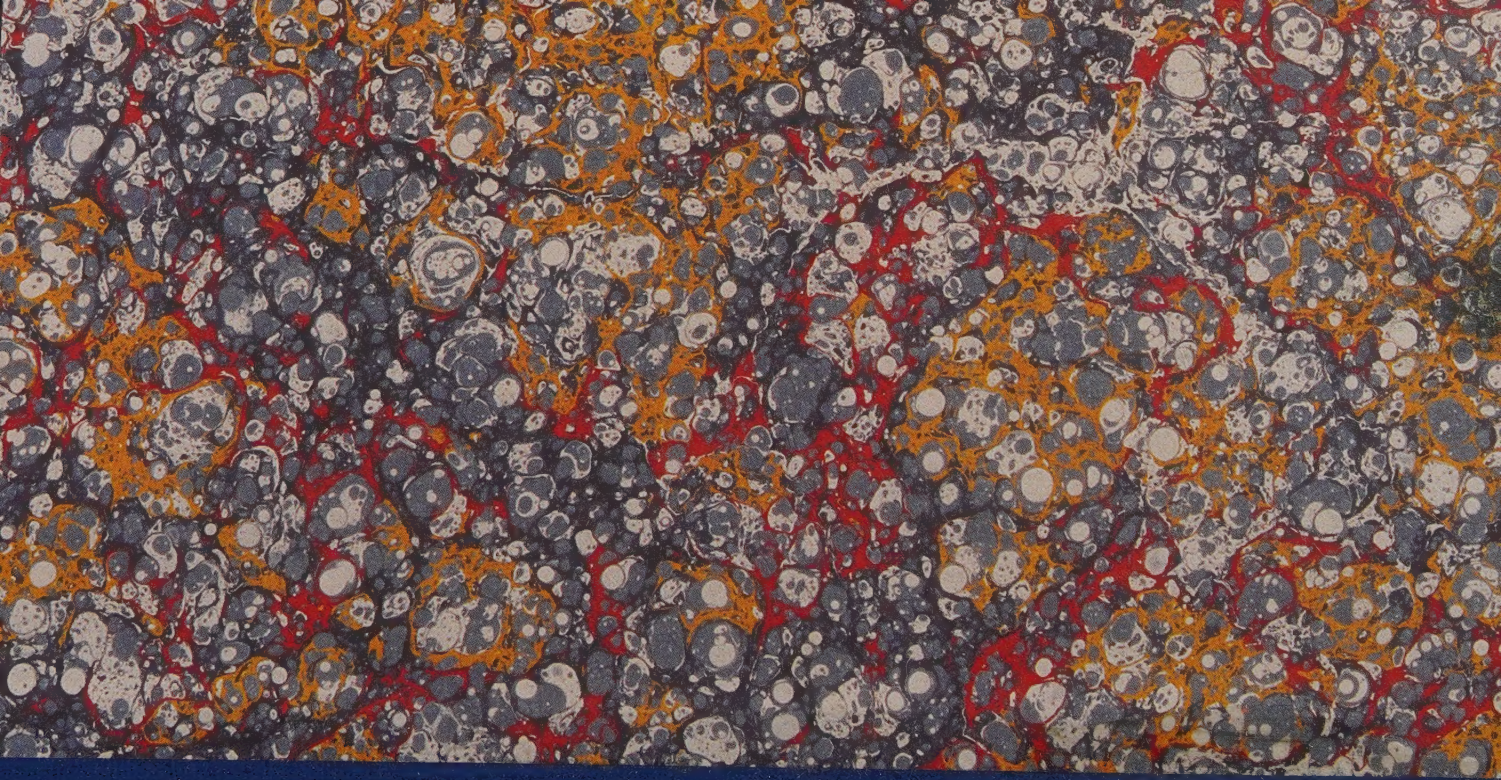

CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER

CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD

CHINA

HER OWN INTERPRETER

Chapters by a Group of Nationals
Interpreting the Christian Movement

Assembled and edited by
MILTON STAUFFER
Educational Secretary Student Volunteer Movement

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD SERIES

CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER
VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST
JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF
AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA
THINKING WITH AFRICA
AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT

PREFACE

THE present student generation in North America is no longer willing to depend entirely on the foreign missionary for its understanding of Christian movements in so-called mission fields. For practically the same reasons many missionaries are beginning to feel that they have been speaking for the Christian converts of other lands long enough. In the judgment of both these groups the day for the voice of nationals to be heard in our Western churches is at hand. That there are Christian leaders today in almost every land who are sufficiently able to interpret the Christianity of their communities to parent communities in the West, is living proof of the prophetic insight of pioneer missionaries who long ago by faith first caught the vision of this day. To their faithful witness and early sowing, this series entitled *Christian Voices Around the World* is affectionately dedicated.

As never before, the young people of our North American churches and colleges find themselves sympathetic toward the national and racial aspirations of other peoples. Their sympathy leads them to question some of the aims and methods in the Christian missionary enterprise which appear to ignore or run counter to these aspirations. Many of them have

heard their own and foreign fellow-students counsel immediate discontinuance of foreign missions as now conducted, and even express doubt as to whether the missionary enterprise can be longer justified. However able the missionaries may be to deal with perplexities like these, they cannot satisfy the desire of those who are disturbed, to hear the opinion of nationals as well. Not until the Christian youth of North America are convinced that the foreign missionary enterprise is fulfilling, in the judgment of indigenous Christian leaders, the largest needs of the peoples it means to serve, will they be enthusiastically behind it, at home or abroad.

This *Christian Voices Around the World* series has been initiated and sponsored by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. We have been encouraged from the beginning by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, representing missionaries and foreign mission board secretaries, by the Council of Christian Associations, representing students and student leaders, and by the Missionary Education Movement, representing the mission boards in their cooperative educational work among the churches. In order that the books might be just as readily available to the young people of the churches as to college students, the Missionary Education Movement offered to publish the series, and

has generously put all of its resources for editing and circulation into the enterprise.

In view of the purpose of this series and of the character of the manuscripts a statement of editorial policy is due both authors and readers. Some chapters were written in English, and others came to us as rough translations, manifesting in both cases varying stages of knowledge of the language. Many chapters were in uncertain stages so far as arrangement of material and literary quality are concerned. But more of them than the average reader might suppose were submitted in such form as to require surprisingly few editorial changes. Wherever the grammatical construction in the original was obviously wrong or obscured or impaired the thought, I have not hesitated to change, even drastically, both construction and phraseology. Verbal substitutions in the interest of clarity have also been made. Frequently the idiomatic terms which seemed to have been intended have been supplied. Wherever the meaning could not be determined, rather than risk misrepresenting the author the part was deleted. There have also been the usual editorial exigencies relating to space. Having said this, let me hasten to add that scrupulous effort has been made to preserve the integrity of thought and the individuality of each manuscript. The constant endeavor has been to safe-

guard both the intention of the writer and the underlying spirit of the series.

Annotations by way of directing the reader to supplementary material, or defining the terms used, or suggesting other points of view in the interests of a more balanced presentation, have been omitted. For so many years the missionary's point of view has been presented without annotations from nationals that it now seems only fair to apply the same method the other way around.

Readers will discover defects inevitable to a symposium. There is repetition because of overlapping ground and the inability of the writers to consult together. The contributions are not of equal literary quality, and wide differences of intellectual content exist between chapters. The material is not always what missionaries themselves would have presented, nor is it always the most significant with reference to present phases of missionary interest in North America. On the other hand it is exactly what we have asked for, an honest revelation of what Christian nationals are thinking and saying among themselves. No attempts have been made to reconcile conflicting opinions. Wherever possible the edited manuscripts have been submitted with the originals to consultants from the country concerned for scrutiny of changes made. Obviously the author of each chapter is alone responsible for the facts and the opinions stated.

China Her Own Interpreter is one in this series of six volumes. The authors were selected and assigned their respective chapters by the Executive Committee of the National Association for Christian Literature, of which J. Wesley Shen is Acting General Secretary. Most if not all of the chapters were written in the English language. Sections of Mr. T. Z. Koo's chapter appeared in the New York *Times* of June 19, 1927, and are reprinted with the permission of the author and the New York Times Company.

The book was written during critical months when events political and military were carrying the cause of nationalism forward and backward in rapid alternation, and the whole Christian movement in China was under severe fire from all sides. Readers will expect the book to reflect these events, but events have been treated as of less importance than their causes. Each writer has dealt with the deeper currents of life and thought underlying events. The chapters are characterized by the scholarship and restraint characteristic of the Chinese, and provide an index of the judgment and resourcefulness of Chinese Christian leadership.

MILTON STAUFFER

New York
October, 1927

CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER

I

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

THE culture of a people is the result of long periods of experience, thought, and discipline. It is the sum of ideas, attitudes, and habits acquired and continuously active in relation to their natural, social, and spiritual environments. It represents their social self-consciousness, sharpest in outline at the top and gradually settling into a mist at the bottom, where the mass of the uneducated depend upon their cultured leaders for articulation.

There are two ways of studying the culture of a people, which are supplementary to each other. The first confines itself to the observation of outward manifestations; the second goes further in the exercise of a philosophical insight into what these manifestations connote. In the past, much of the interpretation of Chinese culture has been superficial because the interpreters, themselves alien to it, did not possess the needed insight. Their careful and often accurate descriptions of the process of Chinese life appear to the Chinese mind as having left out something which is of vital significance. In this brief chapter, however, the attempt is made to interpret Chinese culture not merely from the standpoint of a sympathetic observer, but from that of an understanding acquired

through being a part of it, through being its heir.

First, how have the Chinese reacted in thought and action toward nature? Like Heraclitus of ancient Greece, the Chinese thinker in the early days was deeply impressed with the changes in nature. Nothing is permanent save that which makes change possible. So the Tao Teh King says:

> Blowing winds last not through the day, and racing rain does not continue to the evening. What but heaven and earth caused these things? [But] if heaven and earth are not permanent, how can man be?

Throughout the Book of Changes (I. King), the rudiments of which must have existed three thousand years ago, we find the ancient Chinese mind attempting to understand the laws of the phenomenal world. That which acts and causes changes in phenomena is Tao, the law or reason in accordance with which things move. Tao functions in two ways, in *yang*, the positive and open actualization of things, and in *yin*, the negative and closed disintegration of things. "The alternation of *yin* and *yang* is the way of Tao." And so, declares *The Doctrine of the Mean:*

> The way of heaven and earth can be comprehended in one simple truth: it is single in itself and [its reason] in creating things is unfathomable.

In the very early times the Chinese people sought to explain the world, the *natura naturata*, by means of an active principle in nature, the *natura naturans*.

This active principle, in the thought of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and their followers, is Tao, which acts in the production and maintenance of this world without the need of realizing its own end. It was, therefore, said to act in inaction, to move incessantly and spontaneously. As it works everywhere, it is active in man, who should therefore be free from the partiality and particularity of knowledge, from the artificiality of the cultivated virtues of benevolence and formality, and from the pettiness of meaningless strife and effort to get and retain.

In contrast to this Taoist school of thought, which is very much akin to Spinozan metaphysics in its mystical and deterministic aspects, there is another school, which places great emphasis on the need of subduing nature for human purposes and of changing human nature for the furtherance of social ends. So, according to Hsün Tzu:

> Heaven will not stop winter because of man's dislike for cold weather; earth will not decrease its extension because of man's dislike for distance; and the superior man will not change his conduct because of the small man's noisy insubordination. Heaven has its uniform laws, earth its regular numbers, and the superior man has his constant forms.

Man consequently should not live in dread of the phenomenal calamities of nature if he holds firmly to the performance of the duties before him.

> Man should domesticate and subdue Heaven rather than magnify Heaven and meditate upon it; he should overcome the mandate of Heaven to utilize it rather than follow it in praises; he should adapt himself to time in order to make it subservient to his purposes rather than await the coming of time; he should exercise his own powers to manipulate things rather than attempt to enjoy the prosperity of things as they come; he should systematize things and lose them not, rather than contemplate them to find out what they are; he should control the causes of the changes of things rather than trace the reasons of their existence. To meditate upon Heaven by neglecting the duties of man will mean nothing but the loss of the meaning of things.

Hsün Tzu does not deny, however, that there is a creative urge in nature. Rather he emphasizes that man should recognize this urge, should seek to control it, and so progress to the education and improvement of human nature through social and educational means.

But neither the laissez-faire doctrine of Lao Tzu in regard to the spontaneous development of things and of social life, nor the rigid teachings of Hsün Tse in regard to education as an instrument to bend human nature to prescribed social standards through rules of "propriety and music" and through the conquest of nature, express China's real social consciousness. Both are extremes, and the Chinese, through the insistent teaching of the orthodox Confucianists, have sought for a middle course. In *The Doctrine of the*

Mean another attitude toward nature is profoundly stated:

> When nature arrives at equilibrium within (*chung*) and harmony without (*ho*), then Heaven and earth will have their places and all things will grow.

With man inner equilibrium means an organization of his desires and emotions, and outer harmony means the expression of these desires and emotions in proper ways. Human activities are in this light a continuity of the activities of nature, the ethical urge of creativity working through nature, and continuing to work in man until in him there is the conscious realization of ethical forms in clear-cut human relations. In so carrying on this great work of ethical realization, man must be thoroughly sincere:

> Only the thoroughly sincere can realize his nature. When he can realize his own nature, then he will be able to help realize the nature of other men; when he can help realize the nature of other men, he will be able to realize the nature of things. Realizing the nature of things, he may cooperate with Heaven and earth in the work of creating and developing things.

This third attitude toward nature is of great significance, as it has been a determining factor in the culture of the Chinese people. To a Chinese the phrase "the conquest of nature" sounds a bit strange, since, as he sees it, the only great work one can do is to get an understanding of the ways of nature, and

to act in accordance with these ways in order to help nature do what it inherently is able to do.

Both the advantages and the disadvantages of such an attitude are apparent. As the Chinese tried to comprehend the inner workings of nature, the permanent elements in it, the unity of all things which continues in and through man, he gradually neglected the direct "investigation of things" and missed the opportunity of developing science. In fact, until quite recently the Chinese mind has not been so much interested in things as they are, but has been primarily bent upon finding out their meaning for the purpose of supporting the status of man. The center of interest for the Chinese is human affairs. He finds satisfaction in the manifestations of the universal spirit, at times personal and more frequently impersonal, in all things. In art and in literature, in which he excels, he quite often neglects detailed and realistic descriptions for the expression of the "spirit," as he discerns it, both in nature and in human affairs. He lingers in his enjoyment and appreciation of the beauty of nature, dallies extravagantly in rich symbolism, and identifies himself with the soul in mountains, streams, sunshine, and rain which for him express the tendencies of the human heart.

"Great Chinese artists," says Professor Giles in *The Civilization of China*, "unite in dismissing fidelity to outline as of little importance compared with

reproduction of the spirit of the object painted. To paint a tree successfully it is necessary to produce not merely shape and color but the vitality and soul of the original. Until within the last two or three centuries, nature itself was always appealed to as the one source of true inspiration. . . . The following words were written by a Chinese painter of the fifth century: 'To gaze upon the clouds of autumn, a soaring exaltation in the soul; to feel the spring breeze stirring wild exultant thought;—what is there in the possession of gold and gems to compare with delights like these? And then, to unroll the portfolio and spread the silk, and transfer to it the glories of flood and fell, the green forest, the blowing winds, the white water of the rushing cascade, as with a turn of the hand a divine influence descends upon the scene.' "

§

Fully recognizing the continuity of the cosmic with the human world, the Chinese mind realizes, however, that the chief interest of man should be man. Nature indeed furnishes the groundwork of all human activities, but it leaves much to be desired. Man must, by hard thinking and strenuous effort, erect the superstructure of civilization. The discernment of the regularity of the starry heavens above carries with it the recognition of the moral law within. Human life accordingly expresses itself in terms of five fun-

damental ethical relations: between ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and friend and friend.

While human life is conceived in terms of five cardinal relations, and human value estimated in the light of one's status in the social whole, the worth of the individual is by no means without a corresponding recognition. Man is indeed important as part of a social system. But his greatness lies, nevertheless, in the fact that he is an individual. Both in *The Great Learning* and in *The Doctrine of the Mean* the idea of the worth of the individual came to a high development. It is significant and interesting to note how these two great books begin. *The Doctrine of the Mean* starts out by saying:

> What Heaven endows is called nature (*hsing*); what [man does] in accordance with this nature is called Tao; and what [he] pursues in the cultivation of Tao is called education.

This summarizes the task of man as man. And *The Great Learning* begins with these words:

> The way of great learning lies in the realization of the open virtue of man, in the renovation of the people, and in the attainment of the highest good.

In short, the way of man starts with the investigation of things, goes on to the rectification of the mind, and ends in the regulation of the government and in the pacification of the world. From the ruler

down to the common man, each individual should consider self-culture the fundamental task of life.

The greatness of thought of the Confucian school consists in the emphasis laid upon the necessity of educating the human being. The meaning of benevolence (*Jen*) is nothing but humanness, the sum of all human virtues. It is the expression of the whole human personality in right ethical relations to all. One of Confucius' disciples exclaimed as he awakened to the significance of the Master's teaching:

> The teaching of the Master may be comprehended in one word. It is nothing other than loyalty and reciprocity.

To realize one's self and one's ideal through unflagging effort is loyalty, while to be sympathetic, to be able to put one's self in the place of another, doing to the other first as he expects to be done to, is reciprocity. There is one law running through all human consciousness. The clear grasp of this and the identification of one's self with humanity through a clarified ethical consciousness is the summit of Chinese thinking.

So it is that education is of great importance, even though it be the privilege of a very few. For this the government exists. Mencius and Hsün Tzu differed widely in their conceptions of the original nature of man. The former thinks that man is born good, while the latter flatly contradicts him by advocating the idea

that man is naturally evil. But both agree in the need of education, for with Mencius education promotes the good in man, while with Hsün Tzu it directs the natural energies of man into artificial moulds for social ends.

Confucius and Moti have many differences in their social theories. The one places emphasis on rank and status. The other stresses the need of universal love under the mandate of Heaven as the remedy for all evils. They agree nevertheless regarding education and its unification under the care of government, as necessary for the maintenance and development of social and ethical life. The human being must live in the light of high ideals, and consequently needs to have a government that will not impose a policy of economic and militaristic penetration upon weaker peoples, but will make possible for man the realization of human ideals. Government should exist for the maintenance of culture, for the realization of the aspirations of the wise and the good.

China in the past was indeed an empire with strange imperialistic ambitions. She desired, or rather dreamed about, a moral imperialism, not supported by force of arms but by moral obligation. In this she finally failed, leaving, alas, only a trailing glory of the teachings of sages concerning the universality of the moral law and the unrighteousness of aggressive warfare.

High ideals easily degenerate, although the very fact of their existence carries some significance. As the ages pass, they become institutionalized and covered up by a mass of forms and conventions. Thus people in China begin to doubt if the encrusted ideal of benevolence and universal love can compete with ideas of the struggle for existence which they have gained from reading and from national experience during the last century. At present there is a fierce conflict on between the gloomy realities of China's national life and her theories of universal idealism.

Let us not digress. Just as the urge in nature is thought to continue into the human world, human aspirations stretch up to touch the spiritual realm. With the Chinese people, religion is an extension of moral relations into the world of spirit. The Chinese have never been religiously fanatical, and in matters pertaining to the unseen, where opinions can widely differ, they seem to feel it reasonable to be reticent, after the manner of Confucius, and yet to be tolerant and reverential. They may sometimes be called irreligious, as they do not care much about the particularities of doctrines and forms. To them controversies and denominations cannot have very deep meaning. The mass of the people of China can even be accused of being grossly commercial and calculating in their religious life, since they often trade their gods for prosperity, posterity, and long life by means of

meager sacrificial offerings. Their religious practices are primitive and superstitious. The question may be asked whether or not the Chinese people have any worth-while religious heritage which may unite with Christianity for the enrichment of the culture of man.

It is not easy in a brief statement to trace the rise, growth, and development of Chinese religious ideas. It may be said with some justice, however, that Chinese religion begins as animism, develops into ancestor worship and the worship of Heaven and earth and spirits, and culminates in what may be called nature-theism and anthropotheism. Thus says Li Ki (*The Records of Propriety*) on the method of sacrifices:

> Wood is burnt [burnt offering] on the grand altar in the worship of heaven; [sacrifices] are buried under ground at the grand square excavation in the worship of earth, using a red calf. . . . Then there is the worship of the sun, the moon . . . stars . . . floods . . . droughts . . . the four corners. Mountains, forests, streams, valleys, things that can produce clouds, make wind and rain, show forth monstrosities, may be called divine. He who has the kingdom worships all the spirits. The feudal lords worship them in the land which they possess. They do not offer sacrifices if they do not possess the land.

The animus is in nature. When it grows and expresses, reveals and acts in the human, it becomes the basis of ancestor worship, or at least gives it a rational interpretation.

On the meaning of sacrifices Li Ki says:

> Tseng Tzu has heard the Master say: "Among what Heaven begets and earth nourishes, there is none greater than man. In completeness father and mother beget the son, and so in completeness the son should give himself back—this may be called filial piety. When one does no harm to his limbs and brings no dishonor upon his body, his conduct may be called completeness" . . . Again the Master says: "To cut a tree and to kill a beast out of season is unfilial."

Ancestor worship may be magnified and extended to relate itself with the worship of great men who in their day had contributed to the life of people. Li Ki says again:

> The sage kings instituted the rites of sacrifices and worship so that those may be worshiped who made and maintained laws for the people, who died in the diligent performance of their duties, who pacified their country with great labor, who could resist or divert great calamities, who could protect the people from grave dangers. . . .

It may be well here to call our attention to the two cardinal conceptions in Chinese culture; namely, the ethical concept of benevolence or *Jen*, the virtue of being human, and the religious concept of filial piety or *hsiao*, the virtue of continuing the good of the past in one's present life. "All things have their origin in Heaven, man has his origin in his ancestors." And so the great ancestors of the imperial family were associated in worship with Heaven, and great men were in the past apotheosized after death by the

government, and by the people who gave it their moral support. There is the divine in nature; this is nature-theism. The sage or the great are worshiped in association with *T'ien* (heaven) or *Shangti* (the supreme ruler); this is anthropotheism. They should be worshiped by people out of gratitude to them as sources of physical, social, and spiritual life; this is Chinese religion.

Religious conceptions in Chinese thought have changed from time to time; beliefs have arisen and fallen into oblivion. But throughout these changes the spirit of reverence for the past remains. Moti, whose teachings are now being revalued, had quite different ideas about religion, placing great emphasis on the will of Heaven, which to him was personal; but he too, radical and unorthodox though he was in his doctrine of universal love, ever strenuously upheld ancient religious beliefs and maintained an earnest spirit of reverence in religious matters. Even when thinkers discarded belief in a personal Heaven and in the existence of disembodied spirits, they still insisted on conducting the worship of Heaven and ancestors for the cultivation of the spirit of reverence for the past, for the sources of life. About the other world, what the Chinese think no one can tell with clearness; but in this world of human experience and affairs, religion is of great importance. With the Chinese, religion is for this life.

The Chinese people, as has been pointed out, choose to tread the middle path of reasonableness. For this reason they do not possess a gloomy sense of sin, as did the Hebrews of old; nor do they have the wild enthusiasm or fanaticism that has characterized certain peoples of the West. When they are at their best they may be likened to the ancient Greeks in their love of the human, in their natural optimism, and in their enthusiasm for this life and this world.

They are, however, capable of suffering, of self-denial for their religious beliefs. It is due to this spirit of sacrifice that Buddhism became a Chinese religion. Great monks like Hsüan Chuang, Chih Meng, Tao Pu, and a long list of others of the Tang dynasty, underwent untold difficulties and spent long years in India to get into the spirit and truth of Buddhism. These men of religion, together with many great Confucianists who lived out their philosophy as if it were religion, may be regarded as the Chinese people's greatest religious heritage.

In the Sung and Ming dynasties there was a great development of philosophy. While it was an entirely rationalistic movement, it manifests a religious spirit which may at times compare even with Christianity in depth. In his famous *Hsi Ming*, Chang Tsai summarizes China's moral culture in a very brief statement thus:

T'ien (Heaven) is called father, and *k'un* (earth) is called mother. Small though I be, I embrace both and live in between them. Consequently what fills heaven makes up my body; what leads in heaven and earth [expresses itself] in me as my nature. Men are my brothers and things are of the system of which I am a part. The great king is the first born of my father and mother; his great officials are the servants in his home. Reverence for the aged is the duty of the younger toward their elders, while kindness to the weak and helpless is the duty of the elders to the young. He is a sage who is one in virtue [with Heaven]. He is a good man who [stands out in moral] refinement. All the weak, sick, crippled, poor, and solitary, who are widowers and widows, are my brothers [and sisters] in distress without [persons] to appeal to. They should be gathered under [our] wings in season for protection. He who is happy and sorrows not is pure in filial piety. Disobedience [to right] is contrary to virtue; violation of the law of benevolence is nothing short of treachery. He who assists the wicked [in their evil doing] is poor in endowment, having merely assumed the human appearance [without the human heart]. He who knows the [meaning of] education, would continue well the [good] deeds [of the preceding generation]. He who thoroughly expressed the spirit would continue well in the realization of the [human] purpose. He who has nothing to be ashamed of under a leaking roof [where light can penetrate from above] lives not in vain, while he who keeps his mind [in soundness] and nourishes his nature, can be considered as one who lives in true diligence. Ch'ung Po-tzu hated sweet wine because he knew and cared for the cultivation of [virtue]. Ying Feng-jen educated the talented and

enjoyed the prosperity of his kind. Never relaxing in labor and in filial piety, Shun made his achievements. Unwilling to escape being burned to death, Sung Sun showed his reverence. T'sen received his body and gave it back in completeness. And Po Chi it was who was courageous to obey the command [of his parents]. Wealth, rank and happiness are means to enrich my life, whereas poverty, lowliness, sorrow, and sadness are means to spur me onward to achievement. To live is right for me and to die is peace.

It is with such a cultural background as is interpreted in the above paragraph that the Chinese people have in recent years become keenly conscious of their need of assimilating Western ideas and ideals. Some Chinese have become reactionary after having had a little taste of the civilization of the West, while others, the majority of thinkers of the younger generation, counsel the abandonment, at least for the time being, of their own culture for the adoption of Western civilization. A middle course will have to be found, so that in the process of time a synthesis of Western and Eastern culture may be effected.

But with China wide awake, as she is now, to the needs of science and democracy, we may expect her to receive into her country the results of science, and may confidently hope that she will contribute some new truths in the future in the way of scientific achievement. Indeed the Chinese conception of and attitude towards nature, instead of hindering her

from accepting science, may make her too ready for everything that is termed scientific. At any rate, there is nothing to prevent Chinese scholars from developing science, provided conditions political and social do not interfere with their work.

In regard to the development of democratic institutions China has also her own historical background, and after periods of experiment in the assimilation of Western social and political philosophy and theories she may emerge into a new type of organization different from those known today. The adaptation here is comparatively slow but by no means difficult.

When we reach the spiritual sphere we shall find readjustment more delicate and difficult, as these matters touch a larger range of prejudices and loyalties, traditions and philosophies. Christianity is at present under attack everywhere in China. Within the next five years believers in Jesus and Jesus' teachings will have to face different types of persecution. But if Christians have true faith in what they consider to be the only fully satisfactory way of life, they should be able to see through the present to a future when Christianity will be purified and will emerge in a more powerful form for the salvation of those who are now its avowed enemies. The process of emancipation has been rapid, at first very much assisted by Christians and now going forward on its

own momentum. The day will come and is not far distant when the emancipated will need a power other than themselves to give them the needed self-control and spiritual peace and assurance. The Christian movement in China needs prophets with a burning and fearless message of the reality of God and the power he gives to whosoever believes.

Until Christianity becomes thoroughly vital, until through prophetic missionaries and native leaders it can be interpreted in terms of the spiritual inheritance of China, it is not likely to attract the Chinese nation to its premises. The day will soon come, however, for nothing can prevent it, when the divine-human Christ of the West will become the human-divine Jesus of the Chinese people, who will understand him and his teachings through the truths that their ancestors long since discovered.

T. C. Chao

Peking

II

OUR CHANGING LIFE AND THOUGHT

SINCE the dawn of the present century, China's single persistent desire has been to modernize and fit herself for her rightful place in the family of nations. In her early contacts with the West she was proud and arrogant, stubbornly maintaining her traditional sense of superiority. But in a series of military conflicts extending from 1836 to 1900 she found herself confronted with a new situation, and realized that not only were the new arrivals on the scene not her inferiors, but, to her amazement, they possessed a power which she herself lacked. Especially was the lesson driven home by what Japan was able to do after sitting at the feet of the European countries, for Japan not only successfully defeated China (1895), but later actually proved her strength superior to that of Russia, a Western power (1904). Aroused from the lethargy of content and complacency, China immediately gave herself to a feverish campaign of reforms, hoping by their means to make up for lost time.

China's first regenerative effort was initiated by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-Ch'ao in 1898, but it

was nipped in the bud and its fruition frustrated. For over a decade thereafter these men lived as exiles, sending forth from their places of refuge a constant stream of literature which served to instil life into the awakening minds of new China. The pen of Liang Chi-ch'ao was especially prolific and his influence strongly captivating. The seed was being sown and time would see its fruition.

After the Russo-Japanese War events began to happen in rapid succession, and as they ran their course gathered momentum until, like the turbulent currents of a swift stream, they mercilessly swept everything before them. By an imperial decree the age-long system of civil examinations, which gave incentive to and upheld respect for learning covering a period of two thousand years, was abolished. In its place a chain of modern schools was introduced. At the recommendation of a special commission steps were taken to prepare to convene a national assembly within a period of ten years (1915). Foreign capital was invited to exploit China's natural resources, railway construction was accelerated, newspapers sprang into existence, modern printing was introduced. Old traditions were dismantled and new standards were installed. All these changes took place in the brief space of a little over ten years and culminated in the revolution of 1911, which turned the world's oldest empire into its youngest republic. A kaleidoscopic

spectacle presented itself, with China in the midst of chaos and confusion, still yearning to be like others, cost what it may.

In this mad process of modernization two contending forces developed side by side, namely, militarism and the people's will, the former personified by Yuan Shih-kai and the latter by Sun Yat-sen. The contest of these two forces is the real explanation of the vast drama which we witness today. Yuan believed that what crippled China was the lack of military prowess; a strong army and navy would enable her to assert herself and compel the respect of the rest of the world. Dr. Sun, on the other hand, pinned his hope for the future of China in the uplift and enlightenment of the masses of the people. The former worked for a strong soldiery and built up a "model army"; the latter devoted his energies to revolutionizing the social as well as the political structure of the country. When the clash occurred, the Manchu régime was overthrown, leaving China bewildered in the mazing task of her reconstruction.

Yuan Shih-kai gained the upper hand and proceeded to institute his system of government based on military power. The country was administered under the rule of military governors (*tuchuns*), with final authority vested in himself as dictator. So long as his personal prestige persisted, his machinery went well and gratifying results were obtained. But when

his life came to a tragic end his organization collapsed and his lieutenants ran amok with selfish ambition. Intrigues, self-aggrandizement and mutual plottings were the sequel. As no one proved strong enough to command the respect of all his colleagues, no man emerged powerful enough to unite the country under one control. The history of the Chinese republic so far has painfully demonstrated the futility of militarism as a means either to unify China or to realize her fond hopes in international relations. It has delayed the purpose of the revolution of 1911 and has impeded progress on the road of political modernization.

Following 1911, no sooner had Yuan Shih-kai established his machinery and begun his iron-handed rule than Sun Yat-sen realized that the task he had initiated had been entrusted to wrong hands and that the malady was developing from bad to worse. Immediate steps were taken to set up new machinery to counteract and if possible to arrest the baneful influence of Yuan's camp. After many vicissitudes a base of operation was secured in 1920 in Canton, where Dr. Sun reorganized his forces in order to push to a finish the noble start made nine years earlier. He died before there was time for final success, but a new leader appeared in Chiang Kai-shek, who stepped into harness and took up the task where Dr. Sun left it. With him as generalissimo the

revolutionary army in September, 1926, finally began its long-postponed northern expedition. It swept everything before it and achieved the signal success of victoriously marching through Hunan and Hupeh, entering in less than three months the strategic point of the Wuhan cities, where the first shot of the revolution of 1911 had been fired. Quickly following this came victories in the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien, resulting in the establishment of the revolutionary army in five contiguous provinces in south China. The capture of Chekiang and Kiangsu during the spring of 1927 completes the campaign south of the Yangtze River.

The significant feature of this new movement is that military strength is the least important of its weapons. Public opinion is by far more important. The revolutionary army has been welcomed into the places now held, rather than having had to win them as conquerors of the battlefield. A moral victory has preceded the military conquest in every instance. Truly it has been a "people's revolution."

At this point one might profitably pause to inquire into the reason for this strange phenomenon. Is the easy victory accounted for by betrayal and acts of treason and disloyalty, as many would have us believe, or are there other reasons? Disloyalty is indeed a common frame of mind in the camp of the militarists, and betrayals have been common, but

might one ask what there is to which one could be loyal among the contending generals? Is there any principle for which to fight, any worthy cause for which to die? What is there to inspire loyalty and stir up the soul? To all these questions one finds an invariable negative. It is no wonder, then, that whole legions have been vanquished by the revolutionary forces, and general after general has sought to capitulate and lay down his arms. On the other hand, we find in the camp of the nationalist forces young men fired with enthusiasm and vibrant with patriotism. They know what they are fighting for, and believe they know the secret to the ultimate goal of placing their country where she belongs. They are possessed with nothing less than a religious fervor and they wage their battles as in a sacred crusade.

Furthermore, during the agonizing years between the first shot fired in Wuchang in 1911 and the recapture of that city today, vast changes have taken place in the hearts of the thinking people of the nation. A new spirit has been born; a new zeal has been awakened. That which welds the British together, which unites the French, and which gives pride to every American in his citizenship, has also seized the Chinese. For the first time in history the Chinese people begin to feel as one, think as one, and to want to live and die as one. They form one nation, desire to live under one flag, and are becoming united as

one coherent race able to serve their country and to make their special contribution to the world. They are proud of their past and look forward to a more glorious future, enriched by the new influences with which they have come into contact. Going is the old China's civic inactivity; going also the lack of national consciousness among its people.

Under the inspiration of this nationalism young China sets its face against militarism and the bondage of unequal treaties, particularly the latter, as its sting is sharp and its pressure weighs heavily on independence in international relations. By virtue of extraterritoriality a foreign resident in China is not only beyond the reach of Chinese law, he is practically immune to all law. Unscrupulous scoundrels can do whatever they please to the Chinese and apparently escape the legitimate consequences. Under the protection of tariff control, foreign industry can undercut Chinese. Foreign gunboats ply up and down China's coast and have free passage in China's rivers. In effect, these and other rights conferred by the treaties of mediæval diplomacy make the foreigner in China little less than a demigod. He knows it, and consciously or unconsciously frequently conducts himself with an air of superiority and an attitude of contempt towards his Chinese neighbors. Antagonism develops where friendship should result. These are the underlying factors in a movement that has

come to be known as anti-foreignism, which is perhaps nothing more than a rightful assertion of an individual's dignity and a nation's effort to recover its inalienable rights.

The people's revolution, therefore, is at once the cause as well as the effect of this patriotic movement. Its objective can be summed up in one sentence: the liberation of China and her people from militaristic and foreign domination. It seeks to unify China under a really democratic government and to break down unjust treaty limitations. These are the natural desires of every patriotic Chinese. Young men, especially students, from all parts of the country are joining the ranks of the new forces, and it is not strange that wherever they go their cause meets with welcome and spontaneous response. It is furthermore not strange that opposition seems to fade away in face of their buoyant spirit. The real revolution of the people is at hand. It strikes a sympathetic chord in every heart. It is the beginning of the realization of China's fondest hope.

The revolution is under the direction of the Kuomintang, or People's Party, which is the only organized body in politics in China today having the semblance of a political bloc. Its founder was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and it includes men from all sections of the country. Its principles are clearly laid out in the founder's Three People's Principles, which in-

clude (1) nationalism of the people; (2) rights of the people; and (3) livelihood of the people. The first postulates the importance of the national consciousness as essential to the upbuilding of a strong nation; national independence and racial equality are its goal. The second expounds the principle of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and attempts to solve the problem of democracy in China. The third advocates an economic order based on the single tax and the nationalization of land and unearned increments. Dr. Sun disagreed with Marxian principles and opposed the doctrine of class war.

These Three People's Principles were enunciated as early as 1898, but in the absence of a practical program they never advanced much beyond the stage of untried ideals. Not until 1924 did they finally find expression in the threefold policy of alliance with Russia, of unionizing laborers and farmers, and of admitting communists as members of the Kuomintang. This marked a new era in the party history. Russia had renounced her unequal treaties with China and naturally was looked upon as a friend and as the exponent of the spirit of justice and equality. The laborers had shown their strength during the seamen's strike in the winter preceding, when it became evident that they could be organized into a powerful weapon with which to deal with the Western Powers,

which recognized force alone as the final method of arbitration. Both of these lines of policy afford obvious advantages, but the bargain with the communists is a different story.

When the communists were admitted into the Kuomintang Dr. Sun had in mind a double purpose: to infuse the party with new blood, and to enlist its help in arousing the masses of the people. He had realized that the Kuomintang was degenerating into an officialdom, and that its members had begun to debauch themselves with ease and pleasure attained through their partial success in 1911. He also recognized that the first revolution fell short of its object for the simple reason that the masses of the people had not been awakened. Both of these shortcomings have been remedied by the admission of the communists into the party, but new problems ensued as a result. The Nanking tragedy is a logical consequence.

The communists in the party are not officially recognized as such. Yet one has to remember that these men hold to Marxian communism as their controlling philosophy of life. They look upon their political affiliation as a means of putting into practice the principles in which they believe. These men comprise middle-school as well as college and university students, many of whose leaders have been in Russia. Their new ideals grip them and they are fired

with zeal and enthusiasm for the new order which they proclaim. They are sincere reformers, and not a few of them have chosen to cast their lot with the laboring class with whom they work and live. It is a moving story to hear them tell of the number of their friends who have died from consumption while sharing the life of laborers and trying to help solve their problems. These students have come to be the leaders among the masses, amongst whom they wield a real power and influence. Were it not for them the people's revolution would probably not have been able to make the miraculous progress so far seen.

These are the facts of the situation and indicate the depth of the problem. The communists have meant much to the Kuomintang and they are among the most active members of the party. They do not seek position, in fact they have a rule forbidding any of their number to accept appointment as an official. Anyone violating this rule is liable to expulsion from the party. They constitute a very small minority in the party, but by skilful manœuvre have gained a dominant influence. What they advocate is very difficult to ascertain. The leading members deny the intention of putting communism into practice. With unanimity they declare that China is not ready for it, and that real communism is not in practice anywhere today, not even in Russia. Some go so far

as to say that to advocate communism in China today is to betray the revolution, that it is counter-revolutionary. Whatever may be the truth on this point, one cannot overlook the fact that there is in existence a cult of destructiveness. The order of the communists' day is destruction. Despite their profession to the contrary, one can safely state that communists are not working without a definite object. Their denials of putting communism into practice may be merely a temporary subterfuge. Whatever else they have in mind, it is beyond doubt that they have definitely undertaken to create class consciousness and perpetrate class war. They have the laborers' unions and farmers' leagues well in their hands, and through them wield a tremendous influence. Already the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh are facing grave situations. A reign of terror rules and economic life is paralyzed.

On the other hand, the power of these organizations has dealt a death blow to the militarism which had split the country and caused the people untold misery. Forever the day is past when militarists can browbeat the people and extort money from them as they please. The masses are organized, and among other things they have gained control of the purse. They pay as they see fit and determine for themselves how much and for what purpose they may expend money. This is something that the people have

never before done and represents a marked advance in the development of democratic government. Objection may be made on the ground that there is little choice between militarism and possibility of mob rule, but the fact is that militarism has been knocked off its foundation, and a new force brought into existence which in the future may work for either weal or woe.

Here we come face to face with a problem fraught with danger of a most serious kind. China is still unable to express herself as a political unit. The country lacks adequate communications. Education is still confined to a handful of the people, leaving the masses at the mercy of the young and energetic propagandists whose judgment at best is immature and faulty. And yet in order to make democracy real the general public has to be aroused and made articulate. How to guide and lead the laborers' unions and farmers' leagues is the most serious problem in the present development. Ignorance without organization is bad, but ignorance with organization is horrifying. Democracy is a hard master and China is beginning to realize the stern and exacting demands that it makes. Unfortunately what James Bryce says in this connection is only too true: "Some gains there have been, but they have lain more in the way of destroying what was evil than in the creating of what is good; and the belief that the larger the number of those

who share in governing the more will there be of wisdom, of self-control, of a fraternal and peace-loving spirit, has been rudely shattered."

The date of the tragedy at Nanking, March 24, 1927, will, I believe, take its place by the side of May 4th, 1919, and May 30th, 1925, as a milestone in China's nationalistic development. May 4th is commemorated for the liberation of the spirit of nationalism, May 30th for the outburst of effective attacks on imperialism, and March 24th will go down in history as the day on which it was seen necessary to declare war on communism. It is a sad story to hear of acts of violence, but the blood that was shed and the hardships that were experienced by the people of several nationalities, including Chinese, have dedicated the country to a new future. Were it not for that incident, China would not yet have learned the cruelty of communism and the treachery of its adherents. Today the whole country has awakened to the designs, intrigues and treason of the murderous minority in the Kuomintang who have betrayed their allegiance to the party, the country's cause, and the trust and confidence of the people. The communists are sinners in the sight of China's patriots. The war is on. If China is to live, communism has to go. China is having to choose between Sun Yat-sen and Lenin as her leader. The one leads to democracy and the other to anarchy. It is a life and death issue. No

one realizes the seriousness of the situation better than the thinking Chinese themselves. Will the nations help by sympathetic non-interference, or will they make our problem even more complex for selfish ends?

In the crisis of her fight for freedom and democracy China stands in greater need of friendship, sympathy and understanding then ever before. But none of the Powers seems interested. Britain looks after her vested interests, Japan watches her opportunity on the side, the United States, strangely aloof, occasionally injects a gesture which adds bewilderment to mystery, and Russia alone persistently bids for China's good will. Despite China's cautious and somewhat adulterated trust in her, Russia appears to be the only country really to sympathize with China's nationalism. Russia is to China what France was to America in the War of Independence, or what Britain was to Garibaldi in the struggle for Italian freedom. She has taken the lead in abrogating her treaties with China, negotiated under mediæval diplomacy; she has treated China on the basis of equality; she has lent help in smiting down the capitalism and imperialism of other countries. In short, she has stepped down from the pedestal of "Western superiority" and has won the friendship of the Chinese people. Empty promises and lip-service do not satisfy China. She is serious in asserting

her equality with other countries. The sooner the Powers realize that the day of popular acceptance of special privileges is past, the earlier will they and China come to a real understanding.

In conclusion, the following seem to be the salient facts of the situation. China is now freed from the thraldom of militarism, and is resolutely ridding herself of the yoke of imperialism. The "white man's prestige" is passed, equality and reciprocity are the only bases on which China will maintain friendly relations with other nations. China and communism are at each other's throats. A friendly act of trust and practical sympathy on the part of other countries will greatly alleviate China's burden and assure her success.

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III

THE STATUS OF OUR NATIVE RELIGIONS

FIVE religions are today recognized in China. In the popular conventionalized terminology they are known as Ju Chiao, Fo Chiao, Tao Chiao, Hui Chiao, and Ya Chiao; the religion of the scholar, the religion of Buddha, the religion of the way, the religion of the Moslem, and the religion of Jesus. The Chinese term for religion—*chiao*—is an ambiguous one, standing equally well for teaching as for religion, and for this reason a more definite term of recent origin borrowed from the Japanese, *tsung chiao*, is used to designate religion. It means "loyal to the teaching." Of these five systems, Christianity, Mohammedanism and Buddhism had their origin outside of China. Christianity, being the latest introduced, is looked upon as the foreign religion. For political reasons Mohammedanism has more or less an official recognition, and the followers of the Prophet are regarded as one of the five component "races" in the Chinese republic, and are represented by the white stripe in the five-colored national flag. Buddhism, introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era, has undergone a thorough Sinol-

izing process and is as much Chinese as Confucianism and Taoism are.

Strictly speaking, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, because of their long history in China and their pervasive influence in the life of the nation, are regarded as the "three religions of China," and like three streams which have risen in the same watershed of human hopes and ideals but have followed more or less distinct courses, they have now again merged into one broad stream of Chinese national life. The accumulated influence of these three religions upon Chinese life cannot be separately defined. On the whole, Confucianism has contributed largely to the ethical and intellectual side of Chinese life, Buddhism to the artistic and philosophic, and Taoism to the mystical and idealistic. Judged by their present condition, Confucianism is the most honored, Buddhism the most loved, and Taoism the most feared.

A widespread revival of the native religions has been going on during the last decade. It is part of the nation's awakening in the spiritual sphere, as the revolution and change of government are in the political, and the factories and labor organizations in the industrial. We may distinguish three stages in the revival.

The first stage was the political revolution of 1911, which overturned an old monarchical form of government and introduced a republican form with new

constitution and laws. This revolution affected the established religions profoundly. Their status in the eyes of the law was changed. During the Ching or Manchu dynasty all religious establishments, such as temples and monasteries, were exempt from taxation, and in fact, as part of an imperial system, received state protection and patronage directly and indirectly. In the first years of the republic an attempt was made by the legislature to put all the property of religious establishments under government control and disposal. This was looked upon as undue interference and the first step in "disestablishment." A general protest arose and the government was forced to withdraw the regulations. One result of this outward pressure was to strengthen the self-consciousness and internal organization of the religious bodies, and so for the first time national associations of co-religionists appeared.

The second stage, one of the brilliant fruits of the revolution, was the writing of the principle of religious toleration into the national constitution. Though not a new principle in practice, its adoption in the highest legal document of the country gave great stimulus to all religions to expand. An era of missionary enthusiasm and active propaganda ensued; new religious literature, periodicals, libraries, societies for religious study, schools, orphanages, hospitals, etc., appeared throughout the country.

When the newly organized Confucianist Association attempted to introduce a clause in the constitution for establishing Confucianism as the national religion, the country was ripe for a gigantic religious controversy, unheard of in the long history of China, with Confucianists on the one side and Christians, Moslems, Buddhists and Taoists on the other. With all the reverence that the name of Confucius has enjoyed, and the age-long prestige of the "religion of the scholar" behind it, the Confucianist bill was defeated because it was unable to withstand the avalanche of popular protest. This unique contest revealed as well as revived the keen rivalry between the religious groups.

As the third stage, the real awakening of the native religions as far as spiritual reformation is concerned came with the New Thought movement, or Chinese renaissance, which broke upon the nation like a great cyclone, uprooting ancient traditions, tearing down social institutions, submitting everything—from the facts of history to ethical standards and religious faiths—to a thoroughgoing criticism and revaluation in the light of science. It has given great impetus to the work of reconciling ancient faiths with modern ideas and knowledge, a work which has been going on for the last decade and a half. As a consequence we see the rise of a new apologetic in Buddhist literature and a new missionary interest,

the organization of a reform party among Moslems, and the translation for the first time of the Koran into Chinese, of which more will be said later. Let us treat the present tendencies in the different religions in turn.

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And first, Confucianism. In the days of the emperors, Confucianism was the religion of the state and the capstone of the political system. The mandarinate was built upon scholarship, and Confucianism was the religion of the scholar. In every walled city in the empire there was a temple of Confucius, and at stated seasons elaborate ceremonies of worship and sacrifices were offered by the highest officials, supported by the scholars of the district. Ducal honors were conferred upon the descendants of the sage, and their ancestral home was preserved and maintained at government expense. One of the last acts of the Manchu dynasty was to elevate Confucius to the exalted status of the equal of Heaven. The family was the unit of the government system, and ancestor worship was inculcated as the religion of the people, while the emperor, as head and representative of the nation, offered annual sacrifices to Heaven at the altar erected and dedicated to its worship.

With the passing of the Manchus, the last of the imperial dynasties, passed this imperial cult which

made use of Confucianism as the handmaid of politics. Ancestor worship is too deeply ingrained in the family tradition to be disrupted by the political upheaval, and the periodical ceremonies in honor of the national sage are still observed after a fashion by force of a long established custom. But the worship of Heaven at the imperial altar was discontinued. Yuan Shih-kai, the first president of the republic, with dreams of monarchical restoration at heart did try to maintain the custom, but the incongruity of the head of the republic aping the monarchs of a vanished empire in a symbolic act which justified their claim to divine right of rulership was obvious, and on the death of Yuan it passed out of existence.

Soon after the establishment of the republic the Confucianist Association was organized, and at once it started a movement to make Confucianism the national religion. It is now generally believed that the Association was motivated by the political ambition to retrieve the lost prestige of official Confucianism as it existed in pre-republican days; it counted not only upon the support of the scholars of the country, who would directly be benefited, but also upon the general reverence in which the name of Confucius was held among the people. Its defeat has already been referred to. The movement to build a national church out of Confucianism has fallen flat, and of what was to have been the Con-

fucianist cathedral in the capital city of the country nothing could be seen after ten years of campaigning except a deep hole where the crypt was to be.

We must not, however, make the mistake of thinking that Confucianism as the embodiment of national culture and ethics has failed. Confucianism exists, and has existed for centuries, not so much as an organized religion with visible symbols and rituals, but rather as a synthesis of the ethical and religious ideas and the cultural and political ideals of the Chinese people. As such its influence is deep in the racial consciousness and embodied in the venerable customs and proprieties of daily life.

Confucianism does not lack devout supporters who, lamenting the mistaken policy of the Confucianist Association, are genuinely religious in their loyalty to Confucius. "Without religious faith nothing can be done," said one of them, "and as for me, my faith is centered in Confucius." These people are in sympathy with the New Thought movement which is examining into the foundations of Confucianism historically, so that what is genuinely valuable may be saved from the accumulated rubbish of the ages. They are not interested in textual criticism and historical research merely as such, but want to build up a new apologetic for Confucianism that will restore the influence of its master teacher to the benefit of the modern world. Professor Mi Wu, in a lecture

on "Confucius, Confucianism, China, and the World of Today," January 7, 1927, said:

"The world is now in a sea of trouble, and men suffer more from spiritual than from economic causes. Culture is in a process of extinction. . . . Above all, we suffer from the tyrannical excess of naturalism born of the power of science, which has run wild and been much abused; and from all kinds of emotional sophistry, of which Rousseauistic romanticism is only one form of expression. Man is overruled by nature, and has listened to the voices of false prophets. Hence all the absurdities, quarrels, mad attempts and irrational pursuits; all the feelings of unrest, anger and despair. Both right reasoning and the experience of past ages tell us that our hope lies in a humanistic movement, primarily in the field of education. . . . Here is obviously the value of Confucianism and its meaning for the world today. Here is how we can make Confucianism effectively serve the interests of men of all nations. Here is wherein Confucius could be a teacher of mankind. . . . In promoting, then, a humanistic education, we of China, we direct descendants of Confucius, should especially try to rediscover that great sage and to expound his moral teachings to the world and to posterity."

A few years ago the Heart-Cleansing Society was started by Governor Yen of Shansi for the purpose of restoring the old ethical teachings of Confucianism

and of building up a spiritual fellowship among followers of Confucius. It developed a form of religious service with ethical preaching and silent meditation as the central features. It was a genuine effort to counteract the political corruption and moral confusion of the time, and many among the educated and student class rallied to its call for personal penitence and rectitude of character. A missionary observer says: "My own experience would lead me to believe that there are many individuals and groups in China who are seeking, through a renewed study of Confucianism, to find satisfaction for inward spiritual craving. . . . There are many seeking for that which is pure and true, good and invigorating in the old, in order to find through it guidance and strength for the best in the human spirit as they are carried into a new environment."

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Turn now to Mohammedanism. Wandering into a certain street called Cow Street in the southeastern corner of the big city of Peking one comes upon a large colony of Chinese Mohammedans. Not far from an ancient mosque one sees a small bookshop where books and tracts about the religion of the Prophet may be bought by outsiders. Though insignificant-looking, this little shop reveals in its origin a long and severe contest between the Moslem

modernists and fundamentalists. The modernists, numerically in the minority but with the fire of a new enthusiasm in their hearts, contended that the changed condition of the age demanded a thoroughgoing readjustment; that unless this was made, their revered religion would be buried with the ancient rites and traditions; and that the first step to be taken was to create a literature for purposes of propagation and interpretation to the outside world, on the one hand, and on the other to educate their coreligionists, among whom deplorable ignorance concerning the real teachings of their religion exists. The fundamentalists contended that as long as they remained loyal to the ancient rites and traditions and kept themselves undefiled from the world by social isolation they were all right; as to revealing the teachings and secrets of their religion to outsiders, that is sacrilegious. The modernists won and the bookshop was opened.

Unsatisfied with merely creating a literature, the modernists are carrying their fight to the "holy of holies" by advocating the translation of the Koran into Chinese. Like the Christian Protestants, they demand an open Bible instead of one locked up in unintelligible Arabic, so that not a mere handful of educated scholars but the common people may read and be edified. The China Muslim Literary Society, with headquarters in Shanghai, publishes a

monthly magazine called *The China Muslim*, and in it they are issuing the Chinese version of the sacred book serially, the first portion having been published in June, 1926. A National Association of Moslems has been effected with headquarters in Peking, and they are working for closer affiliation among Moslems of all nations.

The rise of modern Turkey since the World War has revived in Moslem breasts the vision of world domination, and Chinese Moslems look longingly to western Asia as their religious motherland. A few of the more adventurous persons have gone to Turkey for their education. When a second mosque was opened recently in a suburb of London the news was published broadcast in Moslem papers and periodicals, and this news, together with the news about the building of mosques in Berlin, Paris, and even in Detroit in America, gave the impression that the Mohammedan religion is making a victorious inroad even in the Christian Occident. None can fail to be impressed by the faithfulness of the Mohammedans in the observance of religious rites and traditions, the solemnity of their worship in the mosque, and the strength of group consciousness among them; but apart from the loyalty of the small modernist group, with their animosity for Christians, the altar fire of the Hui religion burns low and fitfully in the uncongenial winds of modern China. Its proselytizing

zeal was spent long ago, and its usefulness as a factor in the building of a new civilization in this ancient land is negligible. This may appear a harsh judgment, but in the long history of the religion in China its contribution to literature, art or spirituality has been practically nothing. Essentially a warlike faith, introduced into the country through foreign mercenary soldiers, it has been mainly a political influence and the cause of several rebellions, while at the same time it has been greatly purified by contact with Chinese culture and morals.

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In addition to the major religions there are the eclectic cults. As a protest against the materialistic tendencies of the age, and in response to the longing for inner peace and spiritual fellowship in a time of incessant political turmoil and moral chaos, there have sprung up several religious bodies called by various names but with certain common features. The Tao Yuan made its appearance in Tsinan, Shantung, in 1921 and now claims one hundred and ten local societies in north and central China. The World Redemption New Religion of Chieu Shih, with a membership of 30,000, came into existence in 1924 in Peking, and has an ecclesiastical organization which in its thoroughness reminds one of the Church of Rome. In fact, it has a bishop whose election is by

divine oracle, and the present incumbent bears the Christian name of Joseph Wong. There are other societies, such as T'ung Shan She, or Ethical Culture Union, Wu Shan She, or Ethical Awakening Society, the Universal Society for Virtue, the Universal Association for the Unity of Religion, etc. All these cults claim no ecclesiastical affiliation with any particular religion, but rather to be a union of all religions.

The writer was told by a leader of the Tao Yuan that it "does not profess to found a new religion but to encourage followers of all religions to live better lives. It is neither Buddhist nor Taoist but is open to all. A Christian may join the Tao Yuan and remain a Christian, and a Mohammedan may join and remain a Mohammedan." Direct revelation is claimed for this mission of unification. The Second Article of the World Redemption New Religion reads: "Religions as such have the same aim [of salvation], and so all religionists should follow one road. Our religion, founded by the combined revelation from Heaven of all religious prophets for the purpose of promoting world brotherhood and assuaging the sufferings of the world, aims to bring all peoples into one flock, dissolving all frontiers and eliminating all sectarianism, to worship One supreme, and to live in perfect peace."

To symbolize the spirit of union a tablet is to be seen in the "holy of holies" in the Hall of Worship

which bears the names of the founders of the five religions, with Christianity represented by a triangle. This feature, it is explained, was revealed to them by the spirit of Jesus. Sometimes tablets bearing the names of Joseph, Mary, etc., are also seen. The method of revelation is the planchette, consisting of a pole three feet long with a pencil tied in the middle, and held over a tray of sand about two feet square by two persons. With incense and prayer, automatic writing results, purporting to be dictated by spirits—Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Lao-Tzu, etc., as the case may be.

The divine oracle is the instrument of faith for these cults and its guidance is sought for the initiation of members, election of officers, prescriptions for illness, answer to prayer, moral exhortation, and even artistic inspiration. It is the final authority within the group and all decisions are made with its approval. An elaborate ritual is used for the initiation of members, consisting of penitence, pledge of obedience and financial support, and the giving of a new name by which members are known to one another. United by a common mystic faith and an active program of social welfare work, a fine spirit of fellowship seems to prevail in these bodies. They have attracted a number of educated Chinese in the larger eastern cities into their membership.

One hesitates to pass hasty judgment upon these

cults. It is human instinct to seek solace and strength wherever it may be found, and if the planchette seems to supply the inspiration for transformed lives, it is not for us rudely to take away the prop of faith, even though it be a broken reed. However, these cults attract largely the members of the older generation, and among the younger intellectuals are heartily ridiculed as superstition. Obviously they are a transient phenomenon born of the chaotic outlook and pessimism of the time. Essentially they reflect the superstitious influence of popular Taoism, which has become the repository of the old animistic and shamanistic beliefs of China—of demons and spirits, divination, exorcism and fortune-telling.

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When we turn to the modern Buddhist movement in China we come upon a genuine religious revival—fervent, vigorous, enthusiastic—that is calling men and women by the hundreds and thousands to the Way of Buddha. The musty and sleepy air of the ancient monasteries seems to be stirred by the refreshing breath of springtime, and the dust of the ages is being swept from the face of the image of the Enlightened One, that its radiance may again shine upon a distressed world. It is a unique phenomenon that twenty-five centuries have not dimmed the appeal of Buddha's message of salvation by re-

nunciation, and its power to produce lives—among simple folk as among the learned—which for saintliness, kindliness, devotion and self-denial is without equal.

The vitality of the movement revolves around its leader and prophet, Abbot T'ai Hsü, who in missionary zeal, literary activity, and power to reach the ear of his age reminds one of the personality of Paul. What the Christian apostle was to do and did for early Christianity, this modern apostle of Buddhism was to do and is doing for the spread and shaping of the Chinese religion. Of his own aim T'ai Hsü said it was to harmonize the philosophies of ancient and modern times and of East and West, and to lead the nations of the whole world to follow the teachings of Sakyamuni. The aim was more impressively defined in the purpose of the Enlightenment Society, organized by him in the early days of his missionary career: "To propagate the essence of Mahayana Buddhism, so that the wicked may be led into loving kindness, the selfish into righteousness, the wise to rejoice in truth, the strong to love of virtue; and to transform this war-worn suffering world into a place of peace and happiness."

Wherever T'ai Hsü goes, he is able to rekindle the fire in the hearts of his co-religionists, create new interest in Buddhistic studies, and win new converts of men and women. As founder and editor he has

made the *Hai Ch'ao Yin* (*Voice of the Tide*) the outstanding religious magazine of the country, through which he is able to present Buddhism to a wide intellectual circle and to advocate his ideas and reforms. The magazine is the official organ of the modern Buddhist movement, and in its pages one finds not only the history of the movement, its activities and teachings, but also, as nowhere else, biographical records of religious testimonials and experiences of individual believers.

Chinese Buddhism is not one but is divided into schools, of which the most distinctive are the Ch'an (Dhyana) or Contemplation school, the Ching T'u or Lotus school, and the Lü (Vinaya) or Ritualistic school. To the last belong all those who take the monastic vows. The Lotus school teaches reliance upon Amitabha as the way of salvation, and the efficacy of calling on the name of the great Bodhisattvas as a means of entering the Land of Pure Bliss. The Contemplation school denies all outward realities as being only subjective emanations of the mind, denies all gods and outward aids, personal immortality and the future life. It preaches working out one's own salvation by discipline and renunciation, by inward contemplation and discovery of Buddha within. To be above the material circumstances into which one is placed in life, to be liberated from the passions and desires which hold the human heart in everlasting

bondage, is to be free indeed. And to be free from joy or grief, from sin or self, to be moved by pity, to help humankind to acquire the same freedom, is to be Buddha. The doctrine of the vanity of all things except the virtues of kindness and mercy to all, and the necessity of discipline of the heart by renunciation, is the gospel of the modern Buddhist movement preached by Abbot T'ai Hsü. In an age whose dominant mood is a sense of spiritual loneliness and poverty, of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with a materialistic philosophy of life, the message is finding fervent response in the weary souls of men.

In a published message to the Buddhists of Asia on the occasion of the call for a Far Eastern Buddhist Conference in Japan in 1925, Abbot T'ai Hsü said: "Buddhism alone can save this present world. The present impossible position the world is in, when nation wars against nation, race against race, class against class, and every individual against every other, is the logical outcome of the law of struggle, and the law of struggle is born of the exaltation of the animal desire for comfort and power. We look for help from the economic and political theories offered for the cure of the world's ills, but in vain. They themselves are based upon the fundamental evil of desire. As to the theistic religions, their position is today all but undermined by the advance of science, and they are too feeble to offer assistance

to the tormented world. Our only hope is in the religion of the Enlightened One, which can lead man into the way of true enlightenment through knowledge of the law of Karma, and move men's hearts and make goodness prosper in the world. Buddhism is the religion of Asiatic peoples, and theirs is the duty of making it known throughout the world in order that the civilization that is built upon animal desires may be redeemed and transformed."

In order to fulfil its mission in the present age Buddhism is trying its best to overcome certain evils and adapt itself to modern thought and conditions. Among outward evils it lists, according to a declaration of the Peking Buddhist Association: (1) political oppression; (2) spread of Christianity; (3) anti-religious agitation of the New Thought movement. Among the internal evils are mentioned (1) pessimism; (2) an individualistic theory of salvation; (3) superstition. To restore Buddhism, they propose (1) to open schools for monks; (2) to publish literature in the vernacular; (3) to establish street chapels; (4) to encourage charitable and medical work. But of greater importance it is to modernize the message of Buddhism. Modern Buddhism, as stated by one leader, must be (1) positive not negative; (2) active not passive; (3) this-worldly not other-worldly; (4) real not visionary; (5) industrious not indolent; (6) democratic not bureaucratic;

(7) altruistic not egoistic; (8) social not individualistic; (9) liberating not restrictive; (10) dynamic not static.

What the Buddhists are aiming to accomplish can be gathered from the declared objects of the numerous Buddhist societies that are to be found everywhere; for example:

Present-day Buddhist Society: (1) uncompromising war against all supernatural religions, such as Christianity, Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, Taoism, Confucianism, and all other minor sects; (2) critical study of all sciences and philosophies, in order to elucidate and magnify the all-inclusive teachings of Buddhism so that men may be rescued from wandering in error and led into the way of true faith; (3) elimination of corruptions in doctrine and practice so that the true teachings of Buddhism may be revealed.

Peking Buddhist Society: (1) to elucidate true religion and propagate the truths of Buddhism, to destroy supernationalism and superstition; (2) to encourage charitable work, to promote national and social welfare, to reform social customs, and to abolish war.

World Buddhist Young Men's Association: (1) to study Buddhism and to Buddhisize mankind; (2) to realize liberty, equality, mercy and peace completely in the world.

The Far Eastern Buddhist Convention which met

in Japan in 1925 and in which Chinese Buddhists took an active part, adopted resolutions for (1) active propagation of Buddhism in Europe and America; (2) the creation of a board of European and American missions, and (3) the establishment of a missionary training school in Shanghai.

The promotion of Buddhistic education for preparation of Buddhist teachers and preachers has received chief attention. Less than twenty-five years ago there were no Buddhist schools. The first school for monks was established in Changsha by a Japanese Buddhist. This was followed by a school for monks in Yangchow opened by the abbot of the Tien Ning Monastery. In 1907, when there was fear that monastic property might be confiscated for the benefit of the new national school system, a number of far-sighted abbots voluntarily opened public schools and organized Buddhist educational associations as a protective measure. Except the few that have remained to this day as schools and orphanages, most of these early schools soon disappeared. In 1914 a Buddhist university opened in Shanghai and closed three years later. In 1919 some lay scholars organized the China Buddhist Institute for the study of Buddhist learning in Nanking. It began with only a dozen persons and has since developed into a college. In 1922 the Wuchang Buddhist College was opened under the leadership of Abbot T'ai Hsü. The two colleges in

Wuchang and Nanking are the most important training centers for Buddhist preachers. The curriculum includes history of Buddhism, comparative religion, ethics, philosophy, psychology and sociology. The colleges are registered with the Ministry of Education, and their graduates are sent out as preachers and lecturers and as students for advanced study in other Buddhist lands.

The programs thus stated are too general and indefinite, but they indicate the unbounded faith and enthusiasm that inspire the Buddhists today. What they will accomplish only time will reveal. Meanwhile it behooves us to turn our eyes in another direction and see in the religious experience and devotion of individual believers the real strength of Buddhism. A religion that is able to inspire men and women to renounce wealth, position and ambition, to leave home and family and espouse the monastic ideals of charity, poverty and chastity, to devote lives and resources to deeds of mercy and selfless service, is not to be lightly dismissed.

Among the published "confessions" to be found in the pages of *Hai Ch'ao Yin*, those of a man and a woman are given below:

> When a boy I used to play "Monks" with neighbors' children. In school we first heard that Buddhism was a heretical doctrine and were given to read the classical essays by Han

Yü and others against that religion. Gradually I could see nothing of worth outside of Confucianism, and like a man in a well could only see a small Heaven.

In time the reform movement (1898) captured Chinese thought, and for the populace, drunk with the new wine of science and blinded by the materialistic view of life, a period of crass agnosticism and iconoclasm set in. Assuming a share in the laudable work of breaking down superstition and advancing the new civilization, I joined with others in ridiculing the religiously minded and destroying religious objects. My mother was a devout Buddhist and I remember arguing with her to give up her religious exercises; though I was worsted in the argument, my heart rebelled within.

Leaving school I entered official life, and believing that political power was the great tool for social reform I took part in confiscating Buddhist temples and transforming them into schools, and by pen and mouth advocated new industries, newspapers, new economic theories, and the new thought, hoping thus to save the nation out of poverty, ignorance and corrupt government. But I was made to feel the utter impotence of our efforts against the gigantic sea of national evils. I did not see what I see now, that our powerlessness was due to our own fundamental weakness, for we had not rid ourselves of the cankerous poison of selfish desire.

Once I accompanied my mother on a pilgrimage to the sacred places of Buddhism, and in deference to her faith I followed her in her religious duties. On that trip I met some of the religious leaders, including Abbot T'ai Hsü and heard him preach. When my mother died, I felt that life was lonely and empty and that I owed her a debt of love which could not be repaid except by embracing her faith

after her, and praying for the peace of her soul. And so I began to say the prayers and observe the religious acts for her sake. Later I saw that religion must be more than mere love for one's mother, that it is a way of salvation for all humanity, nay, for all living things. And so I pledged myself to a life without hate for anyone but with charity toward all, without injury to any life by thought or word or deed but with determination to cultivate the Buddha heart to serve others and to save all.

When it became known that I had embraced Buddhism, many of my former acquaintances wrote and tried to dissuade me from my chosen course of action by argument and by ridicule. But they do not know the truth of Buddhism. It is no narrow and self-seeking doctrine. To be Buddhist is to espouse Buddha's love for all and to lead men to the true enlightenment. Their ridicule and argument cannot alter my choice, but I have a longing that somehow my friends may share my faith.

Half of my life I reviled and rejected Buddha. My mother's life led me to the faith, but she was gone before my conversion. This happened when I was forty-one; how regretful I am that I started so late in the Way of Buddha.

Another:

I was born in 1904 and am known by the name of Hui Min (Radiant Wisdom), given me by Abbess Ting Ling, my teacher. I was a student in a woman's normal school until two years ago. I am fond of a quiet and simple life and from childhood felt inclined toward Buddhism. I recall that the first time I thought of becoming a nun was in 1920 when I was sixteen, when I witnessed the initiation of two friends into a Sisterhood. Since then a number of my friends have entered nunneries. Two years later as a

first step I became one of the pupils of Abbess Ting Ling, and my cousin and I made a vow to become nuns together. My cousin has died leaving me alone in this empty world. I have many reasons for my decision.

(1) I believe that the law of Buddha is the greatest and deepest truth in the world and the only way of salvation. To cultivate myself according to it requires undivided attention, and so I wish to withdraw from the ordinary life and become a Sister.

(2) I wish to share the responsibility of spreading Buddhism in the world. It needs workers—free and untrammeled—who can devote themselves entirely to it.

(3) I wish to set a personal example and so encourage many of my sisters to do likewise, for the sake of Buddhism and for the sake of others.

(4) I feel that present-day Buddhist Sisterhoods are in need of reform, and the duty of taking the lead in this work rests upon us who are better educated than others.

(5) Life for women in this world is full of sorrows. The Sisterhood affords an opportunity not only to lead a tranquil and pure life, but also freedom to serve others and to promote the life of the spirit among our people.

The question may be raised here: How is the life of the common people affected by the modern Buddhist movement? This is properly the crucial test for any movement that purports to be religious. It is as justifiable to apply it to Buddhism as to Christianity. The answer is not favorable to the modern Buddhist movement. It is limited, at present at least, to the upper social groups, while the masses are undisturbed in their customary modes of living, their

daily struggles, their faiths and fears. It is true that what the movement aims to achieve will ultimately affect the life of the masses, but the movement itself is one among the élite and does not touch the masses except on the periphery. Here and there we find educational facilities extended to children, and a certain amount of charitable relief takes care of orphans and the destitute. But compared to the number of adherents the social work is insignificant. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that available resources are limited and are mostly used for purposes of propaganda. The common people still spend annually for their pilgrimages and popular religious performances large sums which, as the leaders of the modern movement point out, could with greater profit be devoted to educational purposes and the development of social work.

The difficulty of winning the common people does not lie in the movement alone, for it has to struggle against a social handicap which all reform movements in China have to face, namely, illiteracy. For this reason the new literature now being put out in quantities circulates among the educated classes only and does not get into the hands of the people. It should be said at the same time that Buddhist preaching is still bound up in traditional forms and phrases which are unintelligible except to the initiated. Until the leaders can speak the language of the common people

without losing the religious values now encased in obscure archaic expressions, there will not be a great response of popular support.

What has been said of the modern Buddhist movement applies equally to the other religious movements. They have not reached the rank and file of the people. There is, in fact, an aristocratic, intellectual air noticeable in some of the movements. The Tao Yuan requires ability to read and write as a qualification for membership, and the new Confucianist Association is avowedly an association of the scholarly class. They may be for the people, but they are not of them. And so the tradesmen, the laborers and the farmers go on their usual way and find satisfaction in their own religious organizations and activities. The religious life of the common people is shown in the temple festivals, which combine religious observances with the business of the market; in the worship of patron saints by the different trades; in the religious customs observed in the homes in connection with births, deaths, and marriages; and in the popularity of pilgrimages to sacred mountains and temples. Secret societies are quite common, especially in the rural districts, and while they are organized for mutual welfare they always have certain religious features, such as association with a god or a temple.

It is not our function in this chapter to discuss the

relation of the Christian religion to these movements. Some look upon them as China's answer to Christianity. In one sense this view is justified, for it is undoubtedly true that the presence of the Christian movement has stimulated the life of our native religions, as the presence of Christianity in Japan has called forth the new Buddhist movement in that country. Others see in these religious revivals a spiritual quest which affords a unique opportunity for Christianity and a definite challenge to it to meet the social and spiritual needs of the country. Christianity's relation to Buddhism will be of special interest, because of all native religions Buddhism has a definite religious life, a gospel of salvation, and an ecclesiastical system.

An interesting experiment is being conducted by some Christian missionaries to christianize the Buddhistic monastic life, as far as outward ritual and organization are concerned, so that Buddhists may become Christians without having to experience the painful process of dislodgment from their customary usages. In this process of adaptation use is made of Buddhist symbolism and nomenclature, and it has been shown that they contain great spiritual values. This experiment cannot be regarded as a novel departure, for the history of Christianity gives numerous instances of adaptation and adoption of non-Christian elements, ideas and forms, and Christian

theology owes a heavy debt to Greek philosophy, as the Christian church does to Roman law. Nearer at hand we know that the Nestorians freely made use of Buddhist phraseology in their records.

A Chinese Christian scholar has advocated the Buddhisizing of Christianity as once it was Hellenized and once Latinized. Converted to Christianity through mature conviction, but brought up as a Confucianist and by cultivation a profound Buddhist scholar, Mr. Chang Ch'un-yi has found in his own experience that Christianity cannot be fully understood without the aid of Buddhism; that the religious concepts of the Old and New Testaments are made clear and rich by the knowledge of Buddhist ideas. He believes that the life and teachings of Jesus Christ were imperfectly recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, and that for a fuller and more correct record we must depend upon Paul's writings and the Fourth Gospel. He goes so far as to say that Christianity has not been adequately understood by Western peoples, and that Eastern peoples, interpreting and enriching Christianity by their native religious heritages, have a great Christian contribution to make to the world. In his essay on "My Conversion to Christian Discipleship" he speaks of his search for religious truth since the early days of Chinese awakening following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894.

Like many other scholars in those days, Mr. Chang Ch'un-yi was possessed by a thirst for Western knowledge, and put all his savings into modern books, including a copy of the New Testament. At first the crude translation repelled him. But he was greatly impressed by the spirit of self-denial and service to others shown by his Christian friends, and believing that Christianity could cure China's national ills he joined the Christian church. He was involved, as many other Christians were, in the activities of the revolutionary party which led to the revolution in Wuchang in 1911. But disappointed at the failure of the revolution to do away with political corruption, he became more firmly convinced that only religion had the power to transform human character and establish the nation. Lacking other aids, he was in the habit of drawing upon Buddhist books for light upon and comparison with the Bible. Let him speak for himself:

> Throughout the Tripitaka [the three divisions or "baskets" of Buddhist Scriptures] I found the footprints of Christ. I believe that only Buddhism among our religions can compare with Christianity. Buddhism is deep and difficult to understand; Christianity is direct and simple, and even a child can find his way to the seat of mercy through repentance. The more I study it the more is my heart inseparably bound to the Christian religion. The spirit of Christ had been leading me all along the years of my life, so that

I could not but be his disciple. I believe that the New Testament gathers all the great truths of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and presents them in a concrete and practical way so that all men could receive and live by it. Christianity has the realism of Confucianism, the mysticism of Taoism, and sharing the essence of Buddhism, excels it in dynamic power. For this reason I hold fast to Christ and wish to preach him to the rising generation.

I am grieved to think that Christians are not always worthy to preach Christ; they lack true understanding of his teachings. They lack a full grasp of the inexhaustible riches of Christianity, on the one hand, and on the other have no knowledge of the teachings of the other religions. How can they commend their Christianity to the scholars of the country? Blind themselves, how can they lead others? The responsibility is upon the shoulders of the native Christians, and not upon Western missionaries, to appropriate the cultural heritage of the centuries and the strong points of other religions in order to magnify the radiant life and immeasurable love of Christ. Paul said that he would be a Jew among Jews, and that for the salvation of his brethren he was willing even to be separated from Christ.

Preach Christianity in this way and it will spread like the mustard seed and the leaven in the meal. Then, as Western Christians have sacrificed much to bring the religion to us, we can bring the unspeakable radiance of Christ magnified and intensified back to the peoples of the West. More than this, we may hope for the day when all truths and all religions will be one, without frontiers, beyond national and racial divisions. May the Divine Spirit lead us to greater truths and reveal to us the all-inclusive love of God. The

peace of the world is in the making today; heaven and earth will grow into one with the beauty of springtime.

The fervent testimony of this Christian Buddhist or Buddhist Christian emphasizes the importance of the appreciation of other faiths than our own. Those of us who, with the writer of *Hebrews*, believe that God has spoken to different races and ages "by divers portions and in divers manners," cannot but rejoice that there are earnest and courageous seekers of God in all lands and among all peoples, and that he is being found by them. But believing that a fuller revelation of the truth has come through Christ, ours is not to withhold the light we have received but to share it with all. Too often Christian evangelization is conceived in terms of the destruction and displacement of other faiths, whereas a more truthful way would be to think of it as the fulfillment of all that is best and noblest that has been conceived and created by the human spirit.

Y. Y. Tsu

Peking

IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

BEFORE Alopen arrived at the west gate of the capital, Chang-an, the Chinese government must have had some previous knowledge of the nature and the work of the Christian church in Persia. It may be even reasonable to presume that the emperor and some of his officials must have cherished a hope of some definite Christian contribution to the Chinese nation, otherwise it would be difficult to explain the singularly brilliant reception accorded this humble Syrian priest, whose mission had no diplomatic significance. From the purely secular point of view, Alopen was more or less a political and religious fugitive. There was nothing in his personal status to warrant anything more than a casual patronage, generally granted by the court during the early period of the Tang dynasty to foreign missionaries such as the Mohammedans, the Manichæans and the Zoroastrians. What was it so important in this Nestorian that Tai Tsung, one of the greatest and best emperors who ever occupied the throne in China, should dispatch no less a dignitary than the trusted and honored minister of state, the famous Fang Hsüan-lin, to

meet him outside of the city and conduct him into the palace as an honored guest? That his translation of the Scriptures into Chinese should be done in the imperial library, and that the emperor himself should listen to his teachings in the palace apartments, and, being "deeply convinced of their correctness and truth," should give "special orders for their propagation"? May we not suppose that even before the arrival of Alopen the Chinese had already learned of the piety and devotion of the Syrian Christians, and that Christianity in Persia, purified by successive waves of political hardship and religious persecution, had already in some measure appeared to the Chinese government to be a spiritual institution which, three years after the coming of the Syrian missionary in 639 A. D., they commented on in an imperial edict as a religion "worthy to be spread throughout the world"?

Whatever contributions the Chinese might have expected the Nestorian missionaries to make to Chinese culture and religions, this expectation was unfortunately not fulfilled. Two hundred and ten years after Alopen's arrival Christianity shared in the general religious persecution under the emperor Wu Tsung, and together with Buddhism and the other cults imported from the West became a prohibited religion. Nestorian missionaries, possibly a considerable part of the "three thousand Syrians and Mu-

hu-fu," were compelled to "return to lay life and cease to confound our native customs." From the year 845 on, Christianity disappeared from Chinese history, although two years afterward, in the year 847, under Wu Tsung's uncle, Hsüan Tsung, the ban on foreign religions was removed. Buddhism quickly revived, and to a certain extent also the other Western religions, except, singularly, Christianity. Archeological discoveries, corroborated by later Western accounts, seem to indicate that the Nestorians continued to exist in the northern part of China, frequently not under Chinese suzerainty, in Manchuria and in Mongolia. To central and southern China they never returned, except probably for a short sojourn under the alien Mongol government (1280-1368). If one asks what permanent impressions the Nestorians had made on Chinese civilization, it is sufficient to answer that for hundreds of years not even the name of their sect could be correctly identified by Chinese historians, and were it not for the discovery of the now famous "Nestorian Tablet," together with a few historical notices of its attestation, the very existence of the Nestorians in China during two hundred and ten years in the Tang dynasty might have remained unknown.

Conjectures have been made that one might find some Nestorian influence on Mahayana Buddhism in China during the centuries of religious syncretism;

or that in the many secret societies which have risen and fallen throughout Chinese history one might discover some remnants of Nestorian doctrines and practices. For these we have to await the result of patient research. As it is, we have as yet found no trace of Nestorian heritage in Chinese art, literature, life or thought, to make the efforts of Alopen and his successors appear less than one of the most spectacular failures in the history of Christian missions. Was it due to hardness of heart on the part of the Chinese people? Was it a natural and well-deserved consequence inflicted by God upon a heretical, schismatic sect, wickedly deviating from orthodox Catholicism? Was there too much of a compromising cooperation with and borrowing from Buddhism which resulted in the loss of independent religious vigor? Was royal patronage responsible for a certain measure of wealth and ease which generally were not conducive to a growing prophetic ministry? Was it the exotic policy of the missionaries, which did not provide for an indigenous church under Chinese leadership, so that once the missionaries left, their work immediately died out?

§

If the Nestorian missionaries of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries made very little permanent contribution to the Chinese civilization, the

Roman missionaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made still less. It would be difficult to determine whether it was love or fear of the Mongols that prompted the Popes to send missionaries to Cathay to save and pacify the Tartars who had been terrifying Europe for a score of years. To Karakorum, the Mongol capital, John de Plano Carpini came in 1246, Andrew de Longjumeau in 1249, and William de Rubruquis in 1254. These missions were politico-ecclesiastical in nature. Kuyuk Khan, Ogoul Gaimisch, and Mangu Khan received them with condescending courtesy and dismissed them with haughty replies to the Pope or the French king, which did not suggest that the Mongol government desired anything particularly good from Europe except perhaps humble submission to its military rule. These Roman Catholic envoys brought back to Europe the knowledge that Christianity was not unknown to the Mongols but existed in the form of Nestorianism, which, if we accept the words of Rubruquis and later of Monte Corvino, must have been in a prosperous but hardly commendable state.

What actually led Mangu Khan's successor, Kublai Khan, who had already conquered China, to send the two elder Polos to Rome to bring back a hundred educated teachers will probably never be known. What need had he of Rome which his predecessors had not? Did he not govern a vaster em-

pire than theirs? He ruled, as a matter of fact, over a larger empire than any ruler in the world before that time, and his government was the most cosmopolitan in history. He had in his service representatives of every race and every religion, including a large number of Nestorian Christians, and probably at least a few Greeks and Russians of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Why should he want a hundred teachers of the Roman faith? Could it be that the character or eloquence of these Venetian merchants had led him to expect from the Franciscan or Dominican friars something more than the other Western Christians were able to give?

If Kublai Khan did cherish the hope for some helpful influences from Christians of the further West, the more indeed must history lament the fact that it was neither his fortune to receive nor Rome's ability to impart these contributions. When the Polos came back to Europe in 1269 they found the Roman Church in an unhappy state. For two years and a half there was no Pope to receive the message from the great Khan. When a Pope finally came to the throne he was able to supply, instead of the hundred asked for by Kublai Khan, only two Dominican missionaries. Moreover, these two were none too eager for the salvation of the people of Cathay; it was said they both fell sick before they started, and the result was they never reached China. Pope Nicholas IV

did send in 1289 another missionary, the Franciscan John de Monte Corvino. Despite some authorities who fix the arrival of Monte Corvino before the close of 1293, it is scarcely probable that the Franciscan missionary had any audience with Kublai Khan, who died in February, 1294. We must not indulge in speculating on what might have happened if Kublai Khan had been alive to champion the cause of Roman Catholicism in China. As it was, this first Catholic archbishop labored in China for thirty-four years with no apparently permanent results.

From Monte Corvino's own letters and from the account of his contemporary, the Franciscan Odoric de Pordennone, who stayed in Peking for three years, we obtain certain vivid pictures of imperial patronage, though this was probably not more than was generally accorded the many religions in the Mongol empire. Catholic historians mention thirty thousand baptisms by Monte Corvino and twenty thousand by Odoric de Pordennone. Even though we do not apply to these figures the discount often chargeable to Roman Catholic statistics, we must remember that most of these converts were probably Mongols and people of nationalities other than Chinese. Monte Corvino gave a vivid picture of how he taught Greek and Latin to a hundred and fifty orphans, and had them sing the services in Latin just as was done in Rome. He himself learned Mongolian, and into it

he translated the Psalter and the New Testament. Chinese was evidently never used. What contribution could we then expect these Franciscans to make to Chinese culture?

After Monte Corvino died, in Peking in 1328, a new archbishop was sent to serve in his place. For reasons unknown this missionary found it more pleasant not to come at once. After waiting for eight years the flock in China grew impatient. A petition was sent to the Pope, who accordingly ordered the new archbishop not to delay any longer, and together with him he probably sent four other Franciscans. This mission arrived in 1342, but the archbishop and at least one of the four never set foot upon China. We need not go into accounts of other ineffective missions during the Mongol period in China; suffice it to say that after the death of Monte Corvino the archbishopric of Khanbaliq (Peking) was no longer the seat of any important missionary enterprise. It does not require any laborious research to account for the lack of a continuous supply of missionaries from the West during this period. The work in China was in itself none too easy, in view of difficult competition against the envious Nestorians, not to mention the more numerous and powerful Buddhists. Back at home in Europe, papacy was dipped in poisonous luxury at Avignon, during what church historians call figuratively the period of Babylonian

captivity; and at the time the Mongol petition arrived, asking for more missionaries, the Black Death was raging across the continent, taking two-thirds of the entire number of Franciscans. Moreover, between Europe and China there lay two to three years' journey, at least a portion of which was over the land of the hostile Turks.

When the Mongol dynasty ended in China in 1368, all that was foreign apparently left, bag and baggage. What became of the Ye-li-ko-wens, as all Christians during the Mongol dynasty were probably indiscriminately called, can easily be imagined. The Christian missionaries were foreigners, and their converts, most of them, were also foreigners. They had hardly scratched the surface of Chinese civilization. After they were gone they were soon forgotten.

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About two centuries later, Alexander Valignani stood before his window in Macao looking to the mainland, praying and planning for the entry of Jesuit missions into China, long closed against the Christians. It was reported that he often cried, "O Rock! O Rock! when wilt thou open?" He was already making his plans that once the rock opened, it should never be again closed. The Franciscan missions had failed two centuries before because of their entirely foreign character; the Jesuits would not

fall into the same error. From India he called three young missionaries, and despite the scepticism of his co-workers, he launched these young friars upon a vigorous study of the Chinese language. A few years later, in 1582, two of these, with their hair shaved and in the regular costume of Chinese Buddhist *bonzes*, entered Chaochingfu and were allowed to live in a pagoda, practising and preaching the Christian religion without restriction. A few years later the third, the great Matteo Ricci, was in charge of the mission building in the city, receiving as frequent callers many Chinese officials and scholars. With an excellent command of the Chinese language, both written and spoken, and with many attractive gifts, pictures, clocks, unusual instruments, etc., Ricci found a quick entry into the most influential circles.

It was said of Ricci that he came early to the two fundamental principles of his missionary policy, "to win the Chinese people through their literati, and to win the latter with the sciences of Europe." Distinguished scholars were soon found among his converts, with whose aid he published several religious and scientific works in acceptable literary style. By 1601 we find him an honored guest of the Chinese government in Peking, admired and loved by a widening circle of friends. Jealousy and opposition were indeed not wanting, but his many friends were always ready to defend him as a man of science and a

scholar, well-versed in and sympathetic towards Confucianism, and a Christian missionary incapable of any malicious designs against the nation. When he died in Peking in 1610, imperial permission was given for his burial on land granted by the government. When it was objected that to grant imperial burial to a foreigner was a singular exception in Chinese history, a high official who was not a Christian replied, "Did you ever see in history a foreigner who in virtue and learning could be compared with Matteo Ricci? Not to mention his other achievements, his translation of Euclid alone is sufficient to justify an imperial burial."

Before the close of the Ming dynasty, which practically ended in 1643, it was said that Christianity had been preached in thirteen provinces, and that the number of Christians in China had reached a hundred and fifty thousand.

When the Manchus came to rule China they continued to find the Jesuit fathers useful in the making of the calendar and the casting of cannon. Emperor K'ang Hsi was himself a diligent pupil in the sciences taught by the fathers. During his reign (1662-1722) the glory of Jesuit missions reached its apex. Verbiest (d. 1688), Grimaldi and Pereyra (d. 1708), and Kogler (d. 1746) followed the steps of Adam Schall (d. 1666) in the Government Bureau of Mathematics. To these men China became indebted for the

establishment of the National Observatory with those instruments which, though antiquated, suddenly assumed international importance at the Paris Conference and its consequent Treaty of Peace with Germany. To them also the country owed those scientific treatises which standardized the lunar calendar, a calendar which, though not officially used by the government since the beginning of the republic in 1911, is still an indispensable article in contemporary Chinese life.

From 1708 to 1719 nine missionaries were appointed by the emperor to make survey maps of the empire. The result of their labors is still in the main the best we have. It would be difficult to say what K'ang Hsi's own personal attitude toward the Christian religion was. Unlike his father, he seemed to have adopted the policy of conciliating the Chinese people to the foreign dynasty. For this purpose he devoted himself to a vigorous study of Confucian classics, and tried conscientiously to conduct his government according to the orthodox Confucianism of his day. The favors which he showed the Jesuit missionaries were due not only to his finding them useful for practical purposes, but probably also to his judgment of the Christian religion as a sort of European Confucianism, capable of becoming indigenized in China. Nor was the emperor alone in this opinion. The Jesuit missionaries had a number

of Confucian friends who considered Christianity nearer to Confucianism than Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or any other religion.

Herein we find the strength of the Jesuit method of approach since the day when Matteo Ricci took off the costume of a Buddhist priest and put on that of a Confucian scholar. Just as the Nestorians took on Buddhistic names and wrote with distinctive Buddhistic flavor, so the Jesuits of the seventeenth century now indulged in Confucian phraseology and named themselves very much as the Confucian scholars did. This flirtation with a "heathen religion," though successful for missionary purposes, was more than Roman theology could bear. When the test came Confucianism had to be dropped, and then Jesuit missions began to decline. In the days of Ricci and Longobardi (d. 1654) there were already two sides to the question of adapting Christianity to Confucianism. Ricci's policy won, and nothing succeeded like success. After 1630, however, the Dominicans and Franciscans began to return as missionaries, and soon a stormy controversy rose.

According to the newcomers, the Jesuits were guilty of heresy in (1) translating the Latin *deus* into two Chinese terms which did not suggest the sense of a Creator, and (2) permitting the customary performance of ancestral and Confucian rites, on the alleged ground that they were a sort of respect-pay-

ing memorial and not a worship expecting religious blessing. From Peking to Rome for a period of a century the theological battle was fought with changing fortunes on both sides. It had not only the usual bitterness of two opposing sets of religious opinions, but the situation was rendered much worse by the sensitiveness of nationalities, the rivalry of religious orders, the antagonism existing between Portugal's claim to the protectorship of missions and Louis XIV's new policy of French colonial and religious expansion, the clash between the acknowledged absolutism of the Chinese emperor and the Pope's claim to finality in matters of doctrine and faith, and the disparity between the precise phonetic Latin language and the ambiguous picturesque Chinese characters. The affair came to this: the Pope finally decided in one way, the emperor in another. When the Pope tried to enlighten the emperor, the latter saw only the unpardonable audacity of a foreigner seeking to challenge his authority, and the absurdity of a person trying to judge a question of which he knew nothing.

We are indebted to Professor Chen Yuan for the publication of two manuscripts discovered a year ago in the vacated imperial palace. The first, dated December 17, 1720, was a sort of stenographic account of an audience given by the emperor to eighteen missionaries in his service, evidently corrected by the

emperor in his own hand with a vermilion brush. He had summoned these missionaries to inform them that their presence in China was a matter of no great importance, that the religion which they preached would not affect China's welfare one way or the other, and that he had allowed them to stay in the country and had granted them favors simply because they had come so long a distance and had been peace-loving and law-abiding without serious fault. They were told that it was the foreigners' ignorance of Chinese civilization that led them to pronounce unfavorable judgments on Chinese customs, and that the continuance of religious controversy would undermine the work they were doing. They were ordered to keep silence before the new papal legate who was to arrive soon, referring all matters of difference to the emperor alone.

The second manuscript is probably the first Chinese translation of the famous *Ex illa die* of Pope Clement XI shown to the emperor by the papal legate, Charles Mezzabarbra, mentioned in the first manuscript. At the end of this document we find his majesty's vermilion comment (written in not altogether correct Chinese): "After reading this decree, the only thing to say is that the Europeans are contemptible. How can they talk about the great truths of China? None of the Europeans understand Chinese books; and much of what they say is laughable.

Judging from this decree, they are just Buddhist and Taoist priests—believers of a small heathen religion. Of all lies, this decree represents the worst. From now on Europeans need not preach their religion in China. To save trouble it had better be stopped."

As if these troubles were not enough, after K'ang Hsi died in 1722 his successor, suspecting the implication of missionaries in court intrigues which had to do with his own succession to the throne, began a vigorous persecution of the Christians. For more than a century Christianity was under the ban. Meanwhile the Jesuits were finding plenty of trouble in their home lands. Portugal expelled them in 1759. France suppressed them in 1762. Spain banished them in 1767. The Pope abolished the order in 1773. Yet we can appreciate the strength of the work accomplished by the Jesuit missions in China when we realize how, in spite of all these difficulties, the work of Christian propaganda struggled on. When Jean-Gabriel Perboyre, Lazariste, sneaked into the country in 1837 he still found "in the eighteen provinces, excluding the lapsed, two hundred and twenty thousand Christians with forty foreign missionaries and eighty Chinese priests." The tenacity of the Catholic hold is to be explained not only in the secular contributions the Jesuit missionaries had made to the country, but also in their early attempts to provide

a measure of Chinese leadership in the ministry.

During the years of persecution Chinese priests shared fully the misfortunes of their foreign colleagues. On the whole, the Catholic fathers during this period had a remarkable hold on their converts. It is due to this that in spite of repeated public persecution and government exclusion, a continuous stream of missionaries kept coming in. The sense of loyalty and gratitude they inspired in their converts was as deep-rooted as the envy they excited in their enemies was widespread. The Catholic converts were as ready to risk their all to shelter and assist their missionaries as the latter were persistent in smuggling themselves into the country. Valignani's vision had become true. After Matteo Ricci's landing in China, the door of the nation was never again effectively shut against Christian missionaries.

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It has been customary to date the beginning of Protestant missions in China as of 1807, the year when Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society, came by way of America on an American ship. It would be better, however, to regard the period between 1807 and 1842 as preparatory to the revival of Christian missions in China. During this period, although there were altogether fifty-seven Protestant missionaries (including ten who died and

fifteen who resigned) who came to China, all except a few did their work in Macao, Malacca, Singapore, etc. In 1834, after Morrison died in Canton, there were only two Protestant missionaries in China, Elijah Coleman Bridgman and S. Wells Williams. It was strictly against the law for unauthorized foreigners to stay on Chinese soil. The government had adopted a policy of having nothing to do with foreign missions, and even the teaching of the Chinese language to foreigners or the printing of missionary literature was forbidden. Those missionaries who were in China during this period remained under the generous, or the reluctant, protection of the foreign commercial or semi-diplomatic groups. They were engaged ostensibly in non-religious occupations. Most of the missionaries, however, had to stay away from China, contenting themselves with learning the Chinese language, preparing literature, teaching a few Chinese emigrants, and watching for the chance to get in.

This chance came in 1842 when, as the penalty for attempting unsuccessfully to throw opium out of the country, China ceded Hongkong to Great Britain and opened five ports to foreign trade. Two years later, in the Treaty of Wanghia with the United States, whether suggested by the Chinese or inspired by the missionaries in diplomatic service, it became permissible for foreigners to build hospitals

and churches in the open ports and to propagate the Christian religion among themselves. Toward the end of the same year (1844), in response to a Catholic mission sent by King Louis Philippe of France, the emperor removed the age-long prohibition against the Chinese professing the Christian religion. In 1846 by an imperial edict some of the confiscated property throughout the provinces was restored to the Christians. It was not, however, until 1858 that the missionaries were legally permitted in the inland places. Two years later, in the China-France Treaty of October 25, 1860, through the surreptitious insertion of a clause into the Chinese text by a Catholic priest, l'abbé Delamarre, the way was opened for the purchase of property by the Christian missions in the inland places. Thus all the legal obstacles were removed and the field was indeed ripe for missionary work. Without going into reasons here, we may say that since 1860 the legal status of the Western missionaries in China has been more favorable than that of either foreign commercial men or the native Chinese Buddhist and Taoist workers. The missionaries were prompt in taking advantage of this.

The phenomenal growth of modern missionary work in China is a matter of common knowledge. We have given in the previous section the figure 220,000 as the estimate of the number of Roman Catholic Christians in China in 1837. In 1850 the

number reached 330,000 and in 1881, 470,000. By 1911 it had jumped to 1,363,000. By 1920 the estimate of 1,971,180 was reported. Calculated on the percentage basis, the growth of Protestantism is even more remarkable, though the figures are not as large. At the time of the Treaty of Nanking (1842) there were only six Chinese Protestant communicants. In 1858 there were less than five hundred. By 1877 the number had jumped to 13,515; by 1900 to 85,000; by 1913 to 253,303; and by 1920 to 366,524.

It is by no means accidental that the advance of the number of missionary societies, missionary workers, and Chinese converts should parallel the increase of the pressure the foreign powers exerted upon China, and the increase of China's political instability and general chaos. Through their converts the missionaries of the seventeenth century had made it impossible for China to close the door effectively against them. The missionaries of the nineteenth century, through treaties and legations, have carried away the door altogether.

It would be unhistorical and unfair to generalize from the above and say that all missionaries have worked together with their home governments in weakening China's political and diplomatic resistance to foreign aggressions. Discriminations need to be made among governments, communions, and even individuals. When it comes to the question of China's

integrity and sovereignty there is a great deal of difference between Napoleon III and Woodrow Wilson. When it concerns the relation between empire-building and the protection of missionaries, there is a long distance separating Lord Salisbury and Prince Bismarck. When diplomacy is invoked to support the maintenance of unusual missionary privileges, there is a difference of opinion between former United States Minister Low and all the other foreign representatives. When it is the test of a missionary's regard for the land of his adoption, it is very necessary to differentiate between Bishop Bashford of revered memory—who worked quietly for the integrity of China in the same spirit that he wrote, "Militarism, whether in the form of a German army, or a British navy, or a French Napoleon . . . or the white race's claim to dominate the globe, is doomed under a divine Providence in which God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth"—and Monseigneur Favier, who put upon himself the official insignia of the Chinese government and rejoiced in the power of the French flag and the French gunboats.

Nevertheless the fact is that most people in China do not realize these distinctions. Many educated men look upon the missionaries as political agents of their respective countries, teaching their converts disloyalty to China and bringing back to their home governments secret information which, for China's welfare,

should not be dislodged abroad. To the ignorant mass, until very recently they were seducers of women and murderers of infants, a charge unheard of in the days of the early Jesuits, who moved among intelligent classes and were respected by most people as learned friends of Confucianism. We need not enumerate the unhappy succession of anti-Christian riots, of which the most disastrous for China was the Boxer Uprising in 1900, resulting in the death of forty-four Roman Catholic missionaries, about eighteen thousand Roman Catholic Chinese Christians, one hundred and eighty-eight Protestant missionaries and about five thousand Protestant Chinese converts, and involving China in indemnities and indignities which will long be difficult to forget. Christianity has cost China dearly. Is it worth it?

To say that it is, we may first point to the material contributions Christianity has brought to China. The thing which stands out most prominently to the greatest number of Chinese is the famine relief work of the missionaries. Since 1704, when Emperor K'ang Hsi turned over to the Jesuits the control of the relief work in Shantung, devastated by floods, the efficiency and unselfishness displayed by the missionaries and their converts for the relief of suffering has been commonly acknowledged. Especially in the terrible famines of 1876-78 and 1920-21, not to mention a number of others, the conspicuous service

rendered by the missionaries throughout the land, and the philanthropic assistance they were able to obtain both inside the country and abroad, will long be remembered in the history of China. Here we find the most difficult argument for the anti-Christian agitators to answer, although relief work is in itself not permanent. When we turn to the hundreds of hospitals, doctors and nurses, to the books, pamphlets and lectures on health, to the example of thousands of cleanly kept homes, we must say that a great crusade has been waged against disease and a new era of health is beginning to be promised. Again, the incidental work of industrial missions, that is to say the advocacy of the use of modern machinery and the promotion of scientific agriculture and reforestation, all indicate a gospel of material abundance which the less spiritually minded will not fail to recognize.

We may turn next to some of the intellectual and social contributions, although in these respects our modern Catholic missionaries cannot be said to compare favorably either with their Protestant contemporaries or with their Jesuit forerunners in the seventeenth century. Since Robert Morrison's translation of the Bible, the Christian Scriptures have gradually become available in many styles and dialects. Our anti-Christian friends look with alarm upon the phenomenal spread of the Bible, increasing from 4,160,972

copies during the first sixty years to 8,386,280 copies during the four years preceding 1915. We shall not burden this paper with the mass of Christian educational statistics; suffice it to say that in both quantity and quality of Christian education our pioneer missionary educators may well be proud of the heritage they have bequeathed the Christian community in China. To mention literacy alone, sixty per cent of the men and forty per cent of the women in the Protestant membership can read their New Testament. This becomes very significant when it is compared with the estimated eighty-five per cent total illiteracy of the Chinese population. In higher education, thanks to Sheffield, Mateer and Lowry, to mention only a few names among those who have gone, Christianity has given Chinese society a group of trained leaders who, despite certain well recognized drawbacks, compare favorably with those trained in non-Christian institutions.

In the matter of literature, when Morrison published his volumes, "A Dictionary of the Chinese Language," between 1815 and 1823, there was a widespread missionary enthusiasm for the study of the Chinese language and the preparation for literary evangelism. This has its development in two directions. We shall not go into the growth of sinology in the West; a perusal of the Classified Index of the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Churches, pre-

pared by the Rev. G. A. Clayton in 1918, reveals the volume and variety of the literary productivity of our modern missionaries. As the Jesuits of the early seventeenth century made a tremendous impression upon the Chinese mind through their writings on the physical sciences, modern Protestant missionaries toward the close of the nineteenth century made a spectacular contribution in the social sciences. Through works on Western history and institutions, the Christian Literature Society and particularly its great promoter, Timothy Richard, will be remembered as having greatly helped forward China's modernization. It is to be regretted that this phase of our missionaries' contribution has not been kept up. On the one hand, the works of recent non-Christian writers greatly outshine the Christian productions; on the other hand, there is a diminishing participation by missionaries in all such literary work.

From the physical, intellectual and social contributions we turn to the ethical and spiritual. Here the student of the Christian missions in China faces his greatest difficulty. Since the first days of Christian evangelism in China there must have been thousands of Christian men and women who have lived a Christlike life of the highest standard. Among the millions of copies of the Holy Book scattered about there must have been many which have exerted a moral and spiritual influence unknown to church sta-

tistics. But these moral and spiritual contributions have not made their mark on the Chinese civilization to any degree capable of verbal presentation. It may be because Christianity has not had as long contacts with China as has Buddhism. It may also be that the Christian missionaries have not had sufficient sympathetic contact with the moral and spiritual side of the Chinese civilization. Since the days of the Papal Bull, *Ex quo singulare*, in 1744, a missionary tradition has been established which seems to many Chinese to be an insistence upon the complete surrender of the moral and spiritual values in the Chinese civilization. Thus a dangerous gulf is cut, across which many a missionary or Chinese has hesitated to venture. Since the Great War, however, as a result of the worldwide reappraisal of the so-called Christian civilization, there has been on the part of many missionaries a change of attitude toward Chinese ethical and spiritual ideals. This, together with the increased participation of Chinese Christians in the leadership of the Christian movement, will doubtless bring a new era of Christian contribution to China. Thus we come to the fifth period in the history of Christianity in China, our contemporary period, and here the writer must yield his work to prophets or future historians.

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V

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE CHURCH

WE used to say that the republic of China was born in 1911, but after sixteen years of experience with a rapid succession of bitter struggles among rival war-lords, the truth is coming home to us that the creative process is not yet complete. The unrest, the distress, the misery and the suffering in China today are but the recurrent birth-pangs of a people who are agonizing to bring forth the child of their hopes—a new nation, which shall truly be of the people, for the people, and by the people.

This new national consciousness is to a large extent the outcome of recent agitation over international questions. At the same time, certain internal factors have been at work contributing to the present unrest. While it is not correct to say that the Chinese are divided by north and south, it may be truly affirmed that political unity has not yet been achieved. Two governments are in existence, each fighting for supremacy. This struggle has of course greatly retarded the progress of nation-making, and has brought upon innocent people much discomfort and trouble through continued fighting, superimposed

taxation, and many attendant evils. In a sense China is living in the twentieth century under the economic standards of the fifteenth, which of course greatly increases the suffering. The recent strikes of the laboring class and the coming together of the farming population are a revelation of the widespread discontent with economic conditions. A promptly working remedy for the emancipation of these two classes is greatly needed. With the incoming of Western civilization, social and moral standards call for radical readjustment. There is a clash between the old and the new which is being more and more felt, first in larger cities and later even in smaller towns and villages. This mingling of the standards of the West and the East may prove helpful and beneficial in time, but during this early stage China's modern development certainly both increases and complicates her numerous problems.

The new tide of thought, sometimes called the renaissance movement, began with the students, spread to the merchants, and is now influencing the great laboring and farming classes throughout the country. Reconsideration of every standard in life is now the keen desire, especially of the more intelligent people. A question mark is placed against everything. The desire to know the how and the why has become the passion of the modern age. Nothing is taken for granted. All must be examined

and scrutinized, whether custom, tradition, ethics, moral teachings, literature, philosophy, religion, or anything else under the sun. At such a time this critical spirit may go too far, but nevertheless one may safely say that "all things work together for good." While there has been a great deal of meaningless fighting among rival military leaders; while there has been much consequent distress and discomfort; while there has been open banditry and undisciplined soldiery; while there have been almost endless internal and external problems; nevertheless one discerns in all these experiences unmistakable signs of growth and development. The sea is surging, the waves are high, but underneath, the main current of China's life moves steadily onward.

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Many of the changes which have already taken place in the life and thought of the Chinese people have inevitably affected the work of the Christian church. The new spirit of scientific inquiry, of criticism, of revaluation, has spread to the field of religion, raising in the minds of Christians many questions of far-reaching significance for the faith and work of the future. In such a time of transition it is unavoidable that mistakes should be made. There are many half-baked ideas, undigested thoughts and untried schemes confronting the Chinese Christian

church today. At times unfriendly remarks and uncharitable words have been uttered. For all this we ask our friends to exercise the Christian virtue of forbearance, with patience and tolerance. The recent withdrawal of many missionaries from a number of provinces has no doubt had a discouraging effect on Christians in the West. In this period of China's reconstruction we can only ask that both Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries share in a fellowship of suffering over the rebirth of a nation in the Far East.

The essential nature of the Christian religion is the same in China as anywhere else. Our Chinese people need to return to God through Jesus Christ, as do the people of all other nations. The central message of the Christian religion, which is that humanity needs Christ, is the same yesterday, today and forever. But the special form and development that organized Christianity should take in different countries will vary with the civilization and conditions which prevail in each. They will vary even in the same country, owing to changing conditions. In this paper we shall attempt to deal with some of these variations. If in doing so we seem at times to be critical of policies which have been followed in the past, the reader is asked to remember that everything here written is founded on the firm belief that the key to the situation in China, as in all the rest of the world, is none other than Jesus Christ himself. With

this clearly understood, the writer feels at ease to discuss in frank and candid terms how the present situation in China is affecting the Christian movement as he sees it.

The Christian church in China is still struggling to find its place. Its leadership is weak, its material equipment poor, its religious experience and spiritual insight are in the early stages of their development; in a word, the Chinese church is a babe in swaddling clothes. But with all its weaknesses and infirmities it claims to be an integral part of the church universal and a true member of the body of Jesus Christ. Young, uninformed, inexperienced as it is, it nevertheless is an integral part by right of the universal church of which Jesus Christ is the supreme head.

The Christian church has always been sufficiently adaptable to make use of the traditions, customs, culture and environment of each particular race to which it has gone. These have been like clothing which it has felt at liberty to put on or lay aside from time to time and place to place. To the Jews Christ was a Jew; to the Chinese he becomes a Chinese. In the same way it must be expected that sooner or later Western Christianity in China will become Chinese Christianity. This adaptability of Christianity is one of the marks of its universality.

We do not regard the organized Christianity of the West as a perfect institution, nor do we think that

all missionaries are saints. The divine Master is able to do his work with imperfect instruments. Nevertheless we wish to testify that the missionary body, with all its shortcomings and imperfections, is China's real friend. We cannot rightly evaluate the task of the Christian church without gratefully acknowledging the invaluable service rendered by the missionaries of the past. But each period has its peculiar requirement and special point of emphasis, so our criticism is constructive rather than destructive, a look forward rather than backward. It concerns a continuation of the noble work laid down by the servants of God in the days gone by. We simply cannot close our eyes to the material, intellectual and spiritual benefits that the Christian religion has brought to the people of China. The healing of the sick; the uplifting of the downtrodden; the enlightening of the ignorant; the cultivating of the religious and spiritual life; in a thousand and one ways have these functions been performed by the faithful missionaries to the lasting good of the people of the East. We cannot but feel thankful, first to Almighty God and then to our Christian friends of the West, for this priceless service.

At one time Christianity was largely disregarded by the more intelligent people of China. Their indifference constituted a real obstacle to the spread of the Christian faith among the common people.

Today the situation is changed. Christianity is both more appreciated and more condemned than ever before; it is becoming the best liked and best hated religion in China. Many of China's most intelligent sons and daughters have declared their allegiance to Christ, while on the other hand many of her best minds are doing their utmost to oust the religion of Christ from China's shores. The persecutions of 1900 were due largely to the dense ignorance of Chinese regarding what Christianity really was. Today the attacks upon Christianity are to a large extent due to the fact that people have at least some knowledge of it. Many have studied the Christian religion with disappointing results. The criticisms and attacks made by these students upon Christianity reveal its weakest spots. This spirit of criticism is not limited to those outside of the church who are seeking to destroy Christianity. Even amongst Christian Chinese there is a general desire to reexamine the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Christianity is being weighed in the balance. It is high time for those who are responsible for the propagation of the Christian religion to take note of the signs of the time and to make the adjustments necessary to meet the present challenge.

Christianity came to China upon the heels of military conquest, when China was forced to open a number of treaty ports to Western nations for com-

mercial intercourse. The Christian missionary took advantage of the opportunity this opening offered and introduced the Christian gospel into China. It can hardly be said that this was done at the invitation of the Chinese nation. We do not mean to fix any blame upon the servants of God who were instrumental in effecting this entrance of the Christian religion into China. It was probably the only method possible at a time when China was neither ready nor willing to have any relations with foreign nations. The fact remains, however, that the Christian religion was introduced to China immediately following a military operation. This fact alone has given occasion for much misunderstanding, Chinese saying that the Christian religion is a tool which foreign governments use for political purposes, that it is imperialistic in nature and ultimate aim. Tremendous force has been lent to this attack by the fact that there are clauses in the unequal treaties which give special protection to the work of Christian missions. Whatever value Christian missions gained when these treaties were made, and whatever purpose was served by them in earlier days, it is perfectly clear that only harm will accrue from these treaties henceforth until they are changed from an unequal to a reciprocal basis. Thoughtful Christians in China do not feel proud of the protection secured to them by such treaties. They prefer the protection of Chinese do-

mestic law. Religious liberty has already been guaranteed in the constitution of the republic of China; if this liberty should become jeopardized, Chinese Christians will feel it their duty to take steps to see that it is safeguarded. We deem it wise and right that Christian missions should seek to be delivered from the embarrassments under which both they and the Chinese churches are placed through the special protection now afforded.

When Christianity began its work in China the educated classes were not in a state of mind to appreciate anything emanating from abroad. Self-sufficiency and national pride crowded out the desire and willingness to learn from other people. Although the country was politically open to the Christian missionary, the heart of the people remained closed to the Christian message. The only effective access which the Christian gospel had was to the ignorant and uneducated masses, who were easily influenced by the words and deeds of the Christian missionaries. The situation was entirely different from that in Japan, where the better educated classes were the first to embrace Christianity. While the Christian religion is equally interested in the spiritual welfare of all men whether educated or not, and therefore shows no preference as to what classes of people should receive its message first, yet from the point of view of developing a strong indigenous church,

the more capable and influential leaders the church possesses, the more readily will she be able to assume the responsibilities of autonomous control. In recent years a change in the Chinese church has taken place; not a few of the better educated and more influential people have accepted Christianity, and these are exerting a wholesome influence that will mean much for its future development and growth.

There has also been a gradual change in view regarding the scope of Christianity. In the earlier days of Christian work in China the main emphasis was on the personal side of religion. This emphasis was a vital one. It has meant everything in the lives of the many who have decided to follow in the footprints of Jesus Christ. This emphasis is still needed; but as life becomes more complex and social relationships more varied, we are more and more coming to realize that Christianity must have not only a personal emphasis but a social emphasis. We are discovering that the religious life cannot be lived in any water-tight compartment, in China any more than elsewhere. It must include the entire range of human living, personal, social, national and international. There is no avenue of life that the power of Jesus Christ cannot and should not penetrate. To be Christ-like means that in every relationship, in every form of activity, in every walk of life, we are to show forth the spirit of the divine Master.

Christianity came to China with an attitude of superiority towards the other religions it found here. Those missionaries who came to propagate it believed in its superiority or they would hardly have come. This conviction was to no small degree the driving force which led them to forsake home and people in order to bring their religious message to the Chinese. Such a conviction was doubtless inevitable in the early propagation of the Christian religion. But as the peoples of the world come closer together, and as the attitude of mutual helpfulness is becoming more widely adopted, this conviction of immediate superiority becomes less essential. Christian people are beginning to see more clearly that God has more ways than one to work in human hearts and that the marks of his guidance in events can be traced in all countries. This new emphasis has made Christians more willing to learn from others. It has also helped the various religious bodies that have found a place in China to be more tolerant of each other, and even to find ways to cooperate with one another. By the grace of God China has been preserved for thousands of years, and her spiritual heritage has certainly played a very great part in this preservation. In seeking to utilize this God-given heritage, Christianity may itself become not a little enriched without losing in the least any part of its distinctive value.

Christianity, though oriental in its origin, came to

China with the marks upon it of nearly two thousand years in the countries of the West. Today the people of the Orient find it difficult to recognize in Christianity an oriental religion. Although the essential teachings of Jesus Christ, the central figure, are congenial to the Eastern mind, the Christian religion is still looked upon by many Chinese as a foreign importation. Chinese Christians have recently become conscious of this fact and are losing no time in seeking to bring about the naturalization of the Christian movement in China. The development of a truly indigenous church in China today is one of our foremost problems. Its solution implies a desire and determination, first, to undertake in full measure the responsibility for self-support, self-government and self-propagation; and second, to make the life of the church express itself in ways that will be more fully in keeping with Chinese thought and environment. Unless the church becomes a church of the people, by the people, and for the people, it will always bear the stigma of being a foreign institution.

Christianity came to China with many figures of speech that were based on the traditional practices of the West. Such metaphors as center around the words king, throne, power, army, battle, and fight were doubtless convincing and appropriate among those who first used them, but they do not fit the mood of the average Chinese Christian. Militarism and des-

potism are two monsters of whose power they are trying to rid themselves and their countrymen. Brotherhood, fellowship, mutual helpfulness, are the objectives for which they are striving. Such songs as "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and "Fight the Good Fight" are not inspiring to men whose hopes are fixed upon a radically different ideal of life.

Christianity came to China burdened with denominationalism, which also was the product of the accumulated experiences of the church in the West. A large number of ecclesiastical bodies are working in China today and each has its peculiar features and particular points of emphasis. But China has shown little interest in these imported divisions. We are not blind to the historic reasons for such divisions in the West. People can hardly think alike in any line; it is not to be expected that they should think alike in matters of religion. The fact that China does not enthuse over the acceptance of Western denominationalism is by no means a guarantee that she will not some day have denominational divisions of her own. But to enforce upon the Chinese people church divisions which are not the outcome of their own thought and experience seems neither wise nor fair.

The spirit of the church in China today is for working together rather than for pulling apart. The simple fact that its limited forces are facing an almost unlimited opportunity is in itself a challenge to the

church to unite. Not a little has already been done in drawing the Christian forces together. Many lines of activity are helping forward the realization of greater unity. Certain ecclesiastical families have already organized themselves into united bodies. The organic union even of certain denominations not closely related to each other has to a limited extent been effected. Various Christian organizations are working together on a cooperative basis. Such trends as these are meeting with the approval of the Christian people of China. What the future has in store in this particular respect one cannot say, but it is quite manifest that there is widespread desire on the part of Chinese Christians to see the divided church become united in one body in Christ.

A strong group within the Christian church of China is at the present time working somewhat against this expressed desire for union. We refer to the theological cleavage. This is more manifest among foreign missionaries in China than among Chinese Christians, though the latter are not altogether free from it. Camps have been pitched, and men are taking sides. While recognizing that religious controversy is not necessarily a bad thing and may stimulate thinking and lead men to deeper truth, one yet is convinced that when religious controversy is conducted without the spirit of Christ's love it is detrimental and dangerous. Let us pray not for the

removal of controversy, but that the spirit of love may prevail.

Christianity has brought to China a great deal of material equipment. When there was need of education, schools and colleges were built for the people; when there was need of healing, hospitals and dispensaries were established for the people; when there was need of religious education, churches and chapels were founded for the people; when there was need of direction and help, missionaries were sent to the people. After one hundred and twenty years of such effort Christian missions have become a great concern, involving thousands of workers and millions of dollars in property. For all that has been achieved the Chinese church feels that it owes the West a very great debt of gratitude. Except for the work of Christian missions the Chinese church could not be what it is today. The Chinese Christians will always thank God for the sacrificial spirit of the missionaries and the generosity of the Christians of the West.

At the same time all this material equipment is gradually becoming a serious problem to the Chinese church. It is neither easy to give up nor to keep up. The question of transfer of responsibility from the mission to the church therefore becomes acute and urgent. How it is to be made is a question that troubles both the missionary and the Chinese worker. One thing is sure, the church, if it has any real life at

all and if it is to preserve that life from atrophy, must deliver itself from the position of dependence upon the support given by our good friends from the West. There seems to be no one solution for this perplexing problem, for there is no uniformity in the degree of development which the local Chinese churches have thus far attained.

Christianity came to China with the idea of imparting to the Chinese people Christian knowledge and experience, light in the dark night, life to dry bones, food to the hungry, salvation to the lost. Driven by a sense of love and pity, many missionaries have made heavy sacrifices for the saving of the souls of our people. It was for them at first a task more of giving than receiving, more of teaching than of learning; their attitude was often more that of a benefactor than of a friend, more that of one who bestows than of one who shares, more that of one who works for than of one who works with the Chinese people. This attitude, which was natural and suitable at one time, is now being gradually replaced by a new spirit of fellowship and brotherhood, and by a realization that God has, in divers ways and sundry manners, been speaking throughout times past to the people of this ancient land. This spirit of cooperation, of working together for the good of humanity, of seeking together for greater and deeper truths, of readiness to learn as well as to

teach, is gradually shifting the emphasis of the Christian movement from the idea of a Christian mission to that of a Christian fellowship, in which all will work hand in hand and heart to heart for the eradication of evil and for the establishment of a true Christian brotherhood both in West and East.

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We have indicated some of the problems that now confront the Christian church. It can readily be seen that in meeting the present serious crisis in China the church is particularly open to criticism and misunderstanding. Forces against the Christian religion have been organized and are becoming stronger every day. The Christian church is exposed to attack, first because it is religious, and second because it has connections with the foreigner. The anti-foreign and anti-religious movements are both powerful in China today. There are strong forces which will have absolutely nothing to do with religion of any kind. There are men who are particularly opposed to Christianity. Even within the Christian church there are those who are raising questions regarding certain of her practices and teachings.

Some attack the Christian church for her superstitions; some criticize Christianity as unscientific; some assert that Christianity is imperialistic and part of the foreign aggression upon China; some declare

that missionaries and native Christians make religion a source of material gain; some state that Christianity has failed utterly in the West even after nearly two thousand years of trial; some object to the teachings of Jesus as being too idealistic and impracticable; and some, a few extremists, are determined to see the destruction of Christianity in China. Reports have come in from central and south China indicating that in not a few places the churches, schools and hospitals have been closed and workers have been forced to give up all activity. In general the attitude of the Chinese church at large is somewhat as follows: towards those who oppose her with unreasoning blindness and sheer prejudice, she maintains a silent and patient forbearance; to those who attack her because of misunderstanding, she seeks to explain her position and remove the misunderstanding; such charges against organized Christianity as are well founded and true, she frankly admits and sets about to remove by effecting the necessary change and improvement. In short, the Chinese Christian church looks upon the anti-Christian movement as a health-giving and corrective influence to be used for the perfection of her life. She regards, therefore, some of the anti-Christian leaders not as her enemies but as her friends.

Within the church itself there is a growing tendency on the part of members to study the Bible

and to discover its deeper truths for themselves. There is also a growing desire to ask questions, to know the why of practices and beliefs that have been accepted without question in the past. Along with all this there is of course much immature thinking and irresolute action; but on the whole we rejoice in this new spirit of inquiry and adventure which has come upon the church, and believe that the Holy Spirit will clearly lead this little child of many questions into everlasting life and truth.

The church is not any too well prepared to face the present situation. It can hardly be said that in this time of crisis it is leading and directing; it has rather been trying to adapt itself to the new requirements of the day. There is much uncertainty in the minds of many as to which way to turn and how to act. Church leaders lament this spiritual instability and lack of certainty. This really is the most serious problem of the church, for, after all, it is not the forces from without but the weakness from within that is retarding the church's progress. We have mentioned some of the more important present-day problems, the problems of self-government, of self-support, of naturalization and of union. After we have solved all these problems we shall not have solved the real problem of Christianity. For these problems are merely external obstacles that prevent the church from moving forward. The real problem is internal

and is that of making God known to men and men to God through Jesus Christ. It would be fatal to the life of the Chinese church if her attention were so much directed towards the taking over of authority and property, the organization of an indigenous church, the uniting of different denominations and such problems, as to cause her to neglect her great spiritual function of revealing God to men through Jesus Christ.

We are happy to note that many thoughtful Christians in China today are realizing that the real need of the nation is Jesus Christ. In the Gospel of John are recorded words of Jesus which should be the ringing message for the Christian church in China at the present time: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." This is the challenge of Jesus to his people in China today. We do not see that all men in China have been drawn to Jesus, and we naturally ask why. There are only two answers to this question. Either Jesus is unable to draw them to himself, or he has not been lifted up. Our faith in him and our experience of him do not permit us to accept the former. It must be that we have failed to do the lifting up. Many can say with clear conscience that they have been working hard and doing their best for the cause of Jesus, but on closer examination, what has really been lifted up? Traditions? Ritual? Dogma? The church? Insti-

tutions? Or Christ himself? Upon our answer to this question will depend the future success or failure of Christianity in China.

With all the opposition to, criticism of, and attack upon the Christian religion, our Chinese people, to borrow the phrase of an outstanding anti-Christian leader, are consciously or unconsciously longing for someone to deliver them from "the dark and chilly pit into which China has fallen." Christ needs China and China needs Christ. China needs a Christ who is simple and not hopelessly entangled in creeds and dogmas; China needs a Christ who is natural and not foreign; China needs a Christ who is united and not divided; China needs a Christ who is constructive and not destructive; China needs a Christ who saves and will be her friend unto the end. Such a Christ has never been rejected in the past and will not be rejected in the days to come. The cry of the Greeks who came to Jerusalem, "We want to see Jesus," is the voice of many thoughtful Chinese today. Christian missionaries and Chinese church workers who can introduce men and women to the real Jesus are needed in China now more than ever before. Our people are rubbing their eyes, they are standing on tiptoe, and with outstretched hands are crying, "We want to see Jesus!"

C. Y. Cheng

Shanghai

VI

COOPERATION FROM THE WEST

DESPITE the attacks of the anti-Christian movement in China, we deem it proper and important at the very outset to express our profound and sincere thanks to our friends in the West because, through their vision of God's purpose of bringing the nations into his fold, through their eagerness to fulfil this purpose, and through their self-sacrificial gifts year after year, Christian propaganda in China has been made possible. Through this propaganda many of our people have been helped to gain a knowledge of God and of his Son, Christ Jesus, and have in addition been introduced to not a few of the important conditions of life required by modern civilization. Indeed, our missionary friends have placed us under a real debt to them, as they have, for our sake, worked and toiled, and have, not a few of them, suffered even unto death. This debt we and our children should never forget, and more than that, we should try our best to repay it at as early a date as possible.

Certain phases of our present revolutionary movement, particularly the wanton activities of the radical elements, seem to indicate the dire possibility that

all Christian work of the past century in China may be uprooted and that there may be no future for it at all. Mission or church properties have been occupied, confiscated, or destroyed. Missionaries by the hundreds are returning to their native lands in not very hopeful spirits. Chinese Christians may be unable to weather the storm successfully. Under such unfavoring circumstances, is there much ground for encouragement in the consideration of future cooperation? On the other hand, how can we Christians for a moment think that God's work can ever be destroyed? Do we not see that the worldwide Christian movement really started under the shadow of the cross? The present is surely God's own appointed time when the Christian movement in China is to take a decidedly forward step. We should therefore consider the character and amount of future cooperation between the Christian movements of the West and the East. We Chinese Christians desire and will deeply appreciate all possible cooperation. In fact, no Christian movement in the East or West will ever be sufficient unto itself; we shall always need one another.

Can we recognize at the start that the character of such cooperation will of necessity from this time on be different from what it has been before in the definition of certain common objectives? In order to assist us in understanding this problem, let us briefly

examine three different types of objectives which have hitherto dominated the Christian propaganda in China.

The first type has been to bring the gospel as known in the West, with all its beliefs, practices, objects, and expressions, to the Chinese people, and to continue to do so as long as permitted. In this type there is practically no attempt either to assist our people to receive this foreign religion intelligently, or to relate it in any vital way to their life. The result is that we see today almost no traces in the history of our people of the repeated efforts of this type that have been made, although they characterize generally the Christian propaganda of the first two or three periods in China. Is it not self-evident that this type does not represent the future cooperation which we desire?

The second type of objective has been to create and develop, at very large expenditure, Christian organizations and establishments in China, which it is hoped will carry on the work for which they were inaugurated. This fairly characterizes the Christian propaganda of the present period, which began just one hundred and twenty years ago. Are we not impressed by the achievements of so-called organized Christianity in China, the extensive organization of various denominations and Christian agencies, the large and expensive educational and medical estab-

lishments, and the tremendous annual budgets? To all appearances, at least, the Christian propaganda during this period seems to have got itself well entrenched in Chinese soil and to have built on a more or less permanent foundation. Good, inspiring and helpful though these organizations and establishments are, the chief objection to them is the foreign control under which they have been operating. We fully grant that this foreign control was necessary under the special circumstances at the time. Nevertheless we cannot but seriously question whether our future cooperation will continue in this form.

The third type of objective has been to introduce and practise the Christian way of life, and to make it blend with and enrich the Chinese ideals of life and religious experience until it actually becomes a vital part of the life of our people. This type certainly has not meant an introduction of something foreign, the acceptance or rejection of which was left to our whim or fancy. Nor does it place undue emphasis upon organizations and establishments, even though these may continue to be used as concrete expressions of fidelity and helpfulness. It is actual living with God and constant exemplification of Christ's spirit of love and service in our own lives which will have permanent value. There must be and has been much cooperation of this higher order in

this and other earlier periods of Christian propaganda in our country to account for the real progress that we see. Do we not realize that future cooperation must assume this form of spiritual fellowship and soul communion rather than organizational and institutional forms?

We are characterizing the present period of Christian propaganda in China as one during which the efforts of organized or institutionalized Christianity are given greatest prominence. Some people may disagree. A study of the distribution of Christian, especially missionary, workers, of the annual budgets and of the investments will, however, justify our position. As soon as the nation-wide movement for the abrogation of the unequal treaties including the toleration clauses was started, many missionaries and mission administrators showed great anxiety. They still are anxious lest the institutions which they have built up through years of hard work and self-sacrifice may not be able to stand the test of the times; lest the organizations into which they have poured their life-blood may crumble before their own eyes; lest the property the care and use of which have been committed to their hands may be occupied, confiscated or destroyed; and lest the Chinese Christians with whom they have been associated for years may be confronted with personal danger. Frankly, we have much sympathy with them and are exceedingly

grateful to them. After all, it is not organization, establishment, or property but Christlike life which cannot be destroyed, and which has permanent value. In determining the character of future cooperation, all parties concerned should recognize at once that it is this third type of objective on which we should lay greatest emphasis. Such an objective, intimately related to the fountainhead, will gush forth in new life and power.

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Considered from a practical point of view, the character of cooperation between the Christian movements of the West and the East in the future must show a difference in administrative policy. The development of Christian propaganda in China up to the present may conveniently be divided into three stages.

In the first stage the boards of missions in the sending countries and the missionaries in the field have full control. This was almost inevitable at the beginning. The boards of missions and the missionaries were convinced of their bounden duty to preach the gospel to the Chinese people, as well as of their responsibility for the whole enterprise, which included several kinds of activities. The imagination of many Christian people of the West was fired with the belief that the entire world should be evangelized

within one generation, and missionary work was very vigorously pushed. Meanwhile the main bulk of the Chinese Christians came from poor and humble circumstances, themselves possessing neither enough intelligence to recognize their own responsibilities for the evangelization of China, nor enough resources to make the necessary financial provision for it. The result was that in this stage Christian work in this country was entirely financed by and under the full control of the boards of foreign missions and missionaries.

In the second stage the boards of foreign missions in the sending countries and on the field, on the one hand, and the Chinese Christians on the other, have joint control. This seems to be a natural sequence in the development of the Christian movement. From the beginning of this stage a fundamentally new idea in regard to missionary work in China was expounded and received with enthusiasm. The main task of the Christian movements of the West was not to perpetuate themselves but to initiate and help build up a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Christian movement in China. This principle at once led many boards and missionaries to emphasize the importance of developing strong Chinese Christian leadership, and to assume the attitude that the Chinese Christian leaders must increase, while they themselves, the missionaries, must de-

crease in the Christian propaganda in this land. Meanwhile, in addition to or because of the strong Chinese Christian leadership which was developed within the Christian movement, not a few Chinese of good education and large strength and influence became adherents of the Christian faith. This combined development and accession not only increased the ability of the Chinese Christians to carry responsibility, but also created a strong sense of duty to carry the responsibilities which should properly fall on their shoulders. Hence the practice of joint control has been steadily gaining in popularity and in strength.

In the third stage the Chinese Christians themselves will have full control. The progress of Christian propaganda during the second stage cannot fail to deepen the sense of responsibility on the part of Chinese Christians, and does indeed greatly encourage them to feel that the best way to show their appreciation of the large help that comes from the West is for them more and more completely to help themselves and their own people. The so-called independent churches—churches started on a completely self-supporting and self-directing basis by Chinese Christians—sprang up here and there, and on the whole made satisfactory progress. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., with the exception of contributions from the West in the forms of secretarial leadership

and building funds, were initiated on a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating basis, and are today an indisputable success as a project in indigenization. Numerous churches within different denominations have been steadily working towards a self-supporting and self-directing basis, and most of them are gladly retaining their affiliations with their respective mother churches. The China Home Missionary Movement, which was started by a group of Chinese Christians with a small work in one or two centers in Yunnan province some ten years ago, is now actively engaged in Christian propaganda in several other provinces, and is enjoying the confidence and support of the Christian movement in China. The Christian movements of the West are doubtless watching with great joy the success of Chinese Christians in various enterprises for which they have assumed full control.

We are fully aware of the impossibility of naming the time when one stage of development of the Christian movement in China ends and another begins. We are probably having all three of the stages today, and perhaps we had them all thirty or more years ago. Our inability to draw distinct lines of demarcation is due to the fact that Christian propaganda in China is not thoroughly organized or unified, but is made up of various denominations, agencies and other organizations, which started their work

separately, at different times, with different objects, polity and policies, and possibly also in different sections of our country. Likewise we should take into consideration the different responses made by our people to the different stimuli. We can perhaps more easily trace the three stages in the development of the work of any one denomination or agency or of any particular enterprise. It is quite possible that some part of the Christian propaganda was and still is found in the first stage and does not plan to pass on to the second or the third stage; another part has already advanced from the first to the third, omitting the second; another part was started in the second stage and has already progressed, or will soon progress, to the third; still another part commenced with the third. Despite the apparent confusion in the Christian movement as a whole, it is quite important and urgent that each denomination, church agency, or society within this movement should immediately locate itself in the scale of the three stages of development, and make such readjustments as are required by the times.

We have heard much of the activities and criticisms of the so-called anti-Christian movement these days. Do we realize that the term anti-Christian movement is really a misnomer? We wish emphatically to say that the movement as such is not anti-Christian. It is, so far as we know, not even anti-

foreign. Some people, however, will want to call our attention particularly to the recent Nanking incident. We do, with much sorrow, admit that that incident was both anti-Christian and anti-foreign, and the overwhelming majority of our people, Christians as well as non-Christians, including the so-called anti-Christian movement, do severely condemn the Chinese communists who, under some sinister influence, perpetrated this outrageous act. The Chinese people will insist that full justice be done and full reparations made to the sufferers, foreign and Chinese. Nevertheless the anti-Christian movement as we know it is neither anti-Christian nor anti-foreign. The truth is that the movement is anti-foreign-control; it opposes foreign control over anything which should properly be under the control of the Chinese government or people. The movement to free our people from foreign control, such as the abrogation of the unequal treaties including the toleration clauses, is so reasonable and strong that Chinese Christians are as enthusiastic, patriotic, and determined to attain this object as are their own non-Christian fellow-nationals.

In determining the character of future cooperation from the West, great care should be taken that full control be left entirely to Chinese Christians. On the one hand this will further deepen their sense of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their own people, and on the other it will strengthen their

influence in the nation-wide movement for freedom from foreign control. Henceforth those bodies in the West, definitely pursuing the policy of friendly cooperation without power of control, are the ones that will be welcome in China. Chinese Christians should clearly recognize that this step involves on their part a definite acceptance of responsibilities which are properly theirs and which should faithfully and self-sacrificially be carried out by them. Likewise the Christians of the West should look upon it as a real source of gratification that the time when Chinese Christians are capable of assuming full responsibility has arrived much sooner than was expected.

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Having attempted to clarify our thoughts on the objectives and policy of the Christian propaganda in China, we shall now briefly touch on a few of the concrete expressions of cooperation from the West.

What constitutes the fundamental basis of Christian propaganda? Do we not readily agree that this propaganda is and should be spiritual in its essence? At the same time, we honestly appreciate the important place of those forms of cooperation which may seem less spiritual. We refer to sending messages of greetings and condolences, preparing appeals for more men, money and equipment, writing reports of work and compiling statistics, attending meetings,

conferences, conventions, synods and assemblies, working out programs and tours and conducting campaigns. Truly we can hardly neglect or omit these things. But unfortunately they are often allowed to usurp the place of our direct spiritual communion with God and his Son, Christ Jesus, and with one another. What does it profit us if we gain the whole world and lose our own souls, which are spirituality itself?

Are the Christian movements of the world increasing or decreasing in spiritual power? Are individual Christians laying greater or less emphasis on their spiritual life and on their spiritual fellowship with one another? Why is there so much turmoil, suspicion, selfishness and animosity in the world? Why do we find these enemies of life even within a Christian movement, and even between Christian movements? Is the devil capable of using the boring-from-within method? If so, should not Christians and Christian movements meet this method by a most thorough process of housecleaning? We must enthrone God in our hearts and souls, and there let him reign supreme. God must be in us, and we in him. This spiritual fusion with God and with one another on the part of Christians and Christian movements will become an irresistible power capable of spiritualizing the world.

We firmly believe that what the young and inex-

perienced Christian movement in China needs most is more spiritual help from the West. We are eager for still clearer revelations of God and his infinite love for all mankind, of the power of the living Christ exemplified in personalities working on a large or a small scale in actual everyday life and among human relationships. We should spend more time with God and with one another in spiritual fellowship, and learn to put first things first. In our prayers and intercessions, in our private devotion and meditations, we need not only to bear one another's burdens but also, transcending space and time, to enter into such a spiritual communion in the loving presence of God as will edify and sanctify us all together. It is spiritual help of this high order which we shall continue to crave from the Christians of the West. Of such help it will surely be possible to say that it "is twice blessed—it blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

During recent years more and more Chinese Christian leaders have been occupying places of large responsibilities. Recently, on account of orders from their respective consuls, many missionaries have been hurriedly evacuated from their places of duty in different parts of China. Hundreds of them have gone back to their home-lands with no intention of returning at all, and hundreds more are waiting their turn to go. How the work which they have left behind is

to be carried on causes much anxiety. Under the circumstances, what is the place of the missionary in further Christian propaganda in China? Will there be place for him at all?

The life and work of many missionaries have thoroughly convinced us that missionaries as such will have and fully deserve a permanent place in the Christian movement in China. This permanency does not necessarily mean permanency in any particular location in the field, or in position in the movement, or in nature of work, or even the permanent retention of any particular missionaries. But it does mean that we should, next only to spiritual fellowship, look upon the contributions of missionaries as of the highest importance, and should endeavor to make them a permanent means of cooperation between separate Christian movements.

What should be the contribution of missionaries to the Christian movement in China today? We shall never cease to be thankful for the inspiration and uplifting influence of the lives of missionaries and other Christian friends whom it has been our good fortune to know. We see God living and working in these men and women. The Christian way of life is not a fiction but a reality, and is proved to be within human capabilities. Missionaries should, in addition to setting forth this life, serve to interpret the ideas and experiences of one Christian movement to an-

other, and also of one civilization to another. They should personify the good-will of one group of Christian people towards another group. In order to fulfil these important functions, missionaries should have a mastery of the Chinese language and an understanding and appreciation of Chinese culture. Should not this form of cooperation—the sending of missionaries—be given a permanent place? Truly, the more wholeheartedly the Christian movements can cooperate with one another in this particular manner, the greater hope we shall have of establishing God's realm on the earth.

In future cooperation from the West we hope that a very important place will be given to special visitors. We do not place in this category men and women who are simply touring the world for pleasure or curiosity or health, although sometimes some of them do much good. Nor do we think that visitors who come with inflexible or predetermined policies, programs, theories, methods, based altogether on Western experiences, can be of the greatest help. Their usefulness will be reduced to the minimum if they appear to have strong Western prejudices and preferences and exhibit a domineering or patronizing spirit.

On the other hand, we most heartily welcome as special visitors people who come in the spirit of being in a common quest for truth, who are willing to share

with us their richer experiences of life, and who are also keen to learn the best of our heritage. The freshness in their point of view, their background of different and varied experiences, and their Christ-like spirit of service, often combine to provide the maximum inspiration and help. Not infrequently some of these special visitors return to their own people richer in Christian experience, saner in view, greater in capacity, larger and more sympathetic in outlook. We regard these visitors as being different from regular missionaries not so much in kind as in the nature of service and the length of their stay. As a rule, missionaries look upon their work in China as a life-service, while special visitors come under some specific appointment of short duration, and after their particular task is accomplished return to their own country.

One of the most significant achievements of Christian propaganda in China during this period is, without doubt, the good beginning already made in the training of strong Chinese Christian leaders. The effectiveness of this leadership however limited and inexperienced is being fully demonstrated before our eyes. Without it the attacks of the anti-Christian movement and the sudden and almost complete evacuation of missionaries from their posts would have proved too severe a blow to the Christian movement. We are thankful for this leadership. But we do not

have enough of it. In our repeated search for Chinese Christian leaders for posts of large responsibilities, how sincerely have we wished that more of them had been trained for the present demands! Perhaps it is not yet too late to redouble our efforts to train and develop them now.

Ordinarily a higher education in China and some post-graduate studies abroad are considered the best means of training for leadership, and we entirely agree. However, how many square pegs are now found in round holes? How much native leadership has not been able to attain full development because of lack of proper education? We wish to suggest that each prospective leader should, through some vocational guidance work, be led to choose some vocation for which he may have any special aptitude, before or very soon after he enters upon his university and professional training. We also wish to add that after a certain educational standard has been attained, he should have opportunities of further development in leadership by being given definite responsibilities, large and difficult enough to challenge him and to draw out the best that is in him. Nothing develops leadership more effectively than increased responsibilities.

What about the relationship between strong Chinese Christian leaders and missionaries? Will not

the latter have to decrease as the former increase? In view of the tremendous task before us, we do not believe that the time has arrived for us to consider any material decrease in the number of missionaries because of the increased number of Chinese Christian leaders. The harvest truly is plentiful and the laborers are altogether too few. But in the light of great national changes now taking place in China, it is of paramount importance that missionaries and Chinese leaders should acquaint themselves with the real situation within and without the Christian movement, and be wise and courageous enough to introduce all necessary readjustments in their duties and in their relationships. Not only should they be entirely free from misunderstanding, jealousy and rivalry, but they should also so supplement, trust and support one another that the Christian movement will make the largest and most real progress, and the cooperation from the West will yield the best fruit.

In the Christian movement in China today we already see faint lines of division and schism which have split the Christian movements of the West and have made unity seem unattainable. The Roman Catholic Church is doing an extensive work and stands alone. In the Protestant church we have here today almost one hundred and fifty denominations and separate religious bodies. Many of these dupli-

cate one another's efforts in the same cities or districts, and often they tread on one another's toes and make trouble. The Christian movement in China has also in recent years been much disturbed and threatened by the bitter fight between the fundamentalists and the modernists, and persecution is exceedingly bitter. Likewise the movement is facing the danger of serious splits on political, international and interracial questions. Why should we repeat in China this chapter of darkness found in the history, both ancient and current, of the Christian movements of the West? May we be spared these unchristian experiences!

To avert this catastrophe, will not the Christian movements of the West be willing to desist their efforts to perpetuate in China denominationalism, which is by no means an essential part of Christianity? We fully recognize the necessity of having different organizations, religious services and ceremonies, to suit different temperaments and to meet different spiritual needs. We have no difficulty in appreciating different degrees of religious experiences and different interpretations of the same. But why should these differences be so twisted and intensified as to create division, schism and even persecution? Again, will not the movements of the West cease to introduce the bitter struggle between fundamentalism and modernism in the Occident? The world will con-

tinue to have both fundamentalists and modernists. Many a Christian may combine in himself both fundamentalism and modernism without being conscious of either and without suffering any harm.

Moreover, why should the Christian movements of the West oppose the Christian movement in China because the latter sees the importance of exerting its spiritual influence upon political, international and interracial questions? We firmly believe that the recent World War was brought about, among other causes, by the failure of the Christian movements of the West to perform their duty to preach and practise Christian love and forbearance against all the passions of war. We are glad to note the good beginning already made by the Copec and other similar conferences. Christians individually and corporately have, we believe, a responsibility to discharge in promoting right ideals in political as in other realms of life; we do not look upon this as "meddling in politics," but as exerting a right and wholesome influence on political affairs.

The Christian movements of the West, by adopting the above-mentioned attitudes, can do not a little to assist us in preventing much unnecessary division and bitterness and in making Christian unity and harmony easier to attain. If, in addition, concrete examples of loving forbearance, mutual appreciation

and cooperation can be set up before us, they will greatly inspire and help us in establishing one Christian church for China. This church will be so generous in attitude that any differences in needs, experiences and interpretations will serve to enrich and strengthen our Christian faith; and it will be so comprehensive in its scope of service that all phases of human life, religious, economic, social and political, as well as individual, group, international and interracial, will be brought within its wholesome and uplifting influence. We shall not attempt here any description of the organization of this united Christian church. Suffice it to say that the Christian movements of the West both negatively and positively are fully in a position to help us achieve Christian unity and harmony in our life, and establish such a united Christian church for our people.

The property question is a perplexing one and needs to be clarified. Technically speaking, the mission property belongs to the different missions and churches in whose names the title deeds were drawn up, papers which in many cases are probably also registered in different foreign consulates. This method of holding property is a detail in the provisions which obtain under the toleration clauses of the treaties. But does not the property really belong to the Christian movement in China? Did not the

donors in reality give their money, which was later invested in property, to the Christian movement in China? Can we imagine that they, many of whom must already have passed into the life beyond, would want their gifts—the property—to be turned back to them or to their legal heirs? Our interpretation is that the Chinese Christian movement, before having acquired the legal right of ownership, does have the privilege and right of using the property as long as the purpose for which it was purchased is fulfilled. The gifts were made to provide the Chinese Christians with places of worship, and themselves and their fellow-countrymen with centers of Christian service.

In order to be true to the spirit of the donors, we wish to recommend to the Christian movements of the West for acceptance the principle that all so-called mission property belongs generally to the Christian movement in China. A national board of trustees should be created by the Chinese movement, to be vested with full authority to hold property which belongs to itself or to those churches and other Christian institutions which may desire the service of this board. We are quite in favor of organizing a separate board of trustees for each institution, whenever that is deemed best, or of creating boards of trustees on a city-wide, regional, provincial, or denom-

inational basis, if there should prove to be a demand for such holding bodies. All these boards for the time being should be composed of both Chinese and foreign members, with the Chinese in the majority. The boards should all be properly registered under the Chinese government.

The important function of these boards will be not only to hold property or to hold it in trust, but also to satisfy themselves that each property is being used in accordance with the terms of the gifts. In case of abuse, the boards should have the authority to take back the property in question; and in case of sale necessitated by special circumstances, the money derived should be held by them to be applied to similar enterprises later, either in the same locality or in some other part of China.

We strongly recommend that early steps be taken to create a proper understanding among the missionary societies of the property question, to announce the principle that all mission property belongs to the Christian movement in China, and also to organize a board or boards for the holding and disposition of the same. We wish to further recommend that henceforth missions as such acquire no more property in China, even for the use of the Chinese movement. Let their cooperation in this matter come in the form of funds with which the Chinese movement can purchase the necessary property or equipment. May we

heartily unite ourselves in consecrating all such property to the glory of God in China!

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If the entire Christian work in China were to be turned over tomorrow to the control of the Chinese Christian movement, it would be impossible to administer it on the present basis without continued financial help from abroad. Even if only a proportion of the present work were to be carried on, and if it were operated on a scale more nearly in conformity with the general standards of living of our people, we should still have to depend upon the Christian movements of the West for financial assistance. On the other hand, we could hardly believe that the Christian work would all close down, even though the financial aid from the West were to stop; we are confident that the Chinese Christians would want to carry on to the best of their ability, however limited that might be. But it is inconceivable that the Christian movements concerned would be willing to allow the work of the past century completely to disintegrate by withdrawing such financial support as is within their power to provide.

The following slogans, however, are often heard: "Money controls"; "No money and no control"; "No control and no money." What a dominating position these seem to offer to the almighty dollar!

That the giver should wish to be assured that his gifts are accomplishing the purposes for which he made them is both natural and proper. In other realms than in that of missions how does the average giver get this assurance? Does he expect to have a voice, directly or indirectly, in voting on expenditures? Does he not rather make his gifts in the light of the efficiency and wisdom which those directly responsible for administering the funds placed at their disposal have shown in the past? He believes that his gifts will be well administered because he has confidence in those who must administer them. Why should a different principle hold in missionary giving? Foreign control in the spending of funds from mission sources is in itself no guarantee that they will be well spent. In fact such control may actually militate against their best use at the present time when foreign control in other matters is causing much of China's trouble. The giver will surely get his best assurance that his money is being wisely used by trusting its expenditure to those who know best the conditions under which it must be spent. Of course we do not mean to tolerate inefficiency or dishonesty just because we are anxious to free ourselves from foreign control.

We desire these funds to come as free and voluntary contributions, to be administered, together with

funds raised in China, by a board or by boards of control composed of Chinese and missionary members with the Chinese in the majority. Whether or not these contributions will continue to be given should depend not upon control or no control, but upon the ability of the donors to make them, and upon the worthiness or unworthiness of the cause, as well as the efficient or inefficient way in which these funds have been administered. In brief, the good-will which prompted the making of the contributions should follow through to their expenditure, and thus strengthen the cause for which they are offered. The Chinese Christian movement, in accepting financial help, definitely commits itself to a twofold responsibility; viz., to administer all funds in the most efficient and honorable manner, and to place itself on an entirely Chinese-supporting basis as soon as possible.

In conclusion, we fully realize what difficult and complex questions the concrete expressions of cooperation raise, and how inadequately we have dealt with them. We have taken the liberty of including this reference to them, with our statement of the objectives and policy of this great cooperative Christian enterprise, in order to bring them to the immediate attention of Christian leaders both in China and abroad. We shall be thankful if many of the leaders will feel able, after a more exhaustive study, to arrive

at important conclusions which will help make the cooperation of the Christian movements concerned more completely in accord with the purpose of God. An early study of future cooperation is urgently needed and should be made and applied on a high spiritual plane. What a wonderful fellowship it is to be cooperating together with God in carrying out his plan for China and the world!

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VII

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

WHY is Christianity attacked in China today and by whom? The anti-Christian movement is part of a wider anti-religion movement. But in particular Christianity is being attacked, mainly on four lines.

And first, Christianity in China is being attacked because of the foreign nature of her organization, administration, personnel, and support. The Christian church is denounced as the agent of foreign exploitation in China. In this denunciation one hears distinctly the voice of the nationalist. The attack is directed not so much against Christianity as a religion as against Christianity as a foreign influence. Second, the church is attacked as an instrument of capitalism, created by the capitalist class for the sole purpose of drugging the mind and lulling the spirit of the submerged classes in society. Here the communistic voice is speaking. Third, the church is attacked as an outworn institution, a relic of superstition and an opponent of human progress. The atheist and the agnostic are heard in this line of criticism. Fourth, the church is attacked because she does not practise what she

preaches. This is the criticism of the man on the street.

Two Christian institutions are being singled out for particular antagonism at this time. These are first the schools and colleges, and second the Y. M. C. A. The attack on Christian educational institutions takes two forms, expressed in the two popular slogans of the anti-religion movement: "Recovery of Educational Rights," and "Down with Christian Schools." The first slogan embodies the program requiring registration of Christian schools with the government. The conditions of registration are a Chinese principal; no compulsory attendance at religious services; the Bible to be excluded from the required curriculum; a Chinese board of control; supervision by government educational authorities. Generally speaking, Chinese Christians are in sympathy with the demand for changes indicated in such a program.

The slogan "Down with Christian Schools" expresses plainly the desire to put an end to all Christian schools. The method used is to try to break up the Christian school from within by utilizing disaffected students and ambitious but credulous teachers. Already in a number of cities Christian schools have been broken up. With this program loyal Chinese can have nothing to do.

The Y. M. C. A. was early singled out by anti-Christians for destruction. The communistic group

in particular feels that the Y. M. C. A. must be eliminated, because in China the Association movement is the rallying center of the constructive elements in our society, and acts as a formidable check on the spread of destructive influences. The first hostile move was to cut off the membership, thereby cutting off the source of support. As the Y. M. C. A. in local centers is entirely dependent upon local subscriptions, the prospect is a serious one. But thus far no Association, with the possible exception of Changsha, Hunan, has had to close down, which is a gratifying proof of the vitality of the movement.

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The next question uppermost in the thoughts of everybody interested in the future of Christian work in China, is, will organized Christianity survive this attack? My considered reply to this is yes.

Modern missionary work in China began about one hundred and twenty years ago. The first hundred years of this period were distinctly the missionary period, when every phase of Christian work in China was planned, directed and supported by missions. Those were the great pioneer days. Christian hospitals, schools and churches were established in many centers, and the foundation for Christianity was well and truly laid.

Then came 1900 and the Boxer persecutions.

Thousands of Chinese Christians gave up their lives for the Christian faith. I can still remember in my own case how, during the month of August in that year, although my home was far removed from the center of Boxer troubles, whenever I ventured on the streets, imprecations and stones were hurled at me by other boys because I happened to be a Christian. But when blood has been shed in a cause that cause becomes peculiarly one's own. So it was with the Chinese Christians in 1900. From their blood shed in that year was born the consciousness of the indigenous church. Slowly in these last twenty-five years this consciousness has been gaining volume and luminosity among Chinese Christians. The rise of nationalism after the revolution of 1911 gave added impetus to its growth. Today there is stirring in the hearts of Chinese Christians a very general yearning to find our own soul and to live our own life as a Chinese church of Christ.

Our missionary colleagues have watched the birth and growth of this consciousness with joy and thankfulness. They have prayed and worked for its coming for many long years, and now that it has actually come they are most unselfishly working to hasten the growth of this church itself which really shall be of, for, and by the Chinese.

There is, however, a small group of missionaries, particularly amongst those engaged in administrative

work of one kind or another in mission offices in China, who are puzzled as to what to do with this precocious child now on their hands. They want it to grow and yet cannot quite make up their minds whether or not it would be safe to take away entirely their own guiding hand. And so they have urged caution and advised delay. This attitude is not due to selfishness or unwillingness. Missionaries who have nurtured a piece of Christian work in China for ten, fifteen or twenty years are fearful of letting go lest the efficiency of the work be impaired. And so, with the best of intentions, they have kept a restraining hand on the growing consciousness of the indigenous church.

But God has a way of accomplishing his will which often surprises us. A situation is now being created in China whereby this restraining hand is being forcibly shaken off. When missionaries were ordered to evacuate by their consuls they had to obey. But before leaving they turned over the work to Chinese Christian committees hurriedly created for the purpose. I cannot imagine these missionaries, when they return to their stations after the troubles are over, saying to the Chinese Christians, "Now that we have come back, will you please hand over the work to us again?" As soon as the situation in China becomes normal, missionaries will be invited by Chinese Christian bodies to return, but they will return under

changed circumstances. In the period which is just opening before us, Chinese Christian bodies will come to have an increasing share in the direction and support of Christian work in China. In other words, missionaries will return to China as members of Chinese Christian bodies rather than as members of their respective missions, and these will be asked to merge their identity, which is now separate, with Chinese Christian bodies. What was only a consciousness in these last twenty-five years will now begin to take concrete shape and form, and in the next twenty-five years we shall see the real Chinese Christian church rising in our country. Is this a prospect to cause us alarm and misgiving?

Now let us turn to another side of the picture and look at the Chinese Christians themselves. What has the last decade done to them?

We have been passing through a period of severe testing of spirit. Misunderstood and attacked by our own people as well as foreigners, by some called Reds or Bolshevists, by others termed running dogs of imperialism and capitalism, with hearts burdened with the travail and tribulations of our beloved country, some of us have been living in the valley of the shadow of death. Many have found the test too severe and been lost to us. But I have seen with my own eyes here and there little groups of men and women rise triumphant from the test, and with

clearer vision and bolder spirit set out to follow the guiding hand of God in the present situation. The future of the Christian movement in China will depend very largely upon whether this group of Christians will be able to maintain a faith, courage and wisdom equal to the superhuman demand.

Again, we have been passing through a period when the very foundations of our faith are being challenged, and we have been compelled to think for ourselves—always a painful process. We have been obliged to cut through systems of theology, forms of worship and organizations of church polity, to Christ himself to find out what it means to be a Christian. We are trying to find out not what Baptists or Presbyterians teach about God, but what Jesus taught about him. We are not yet interested in the fundamentalist or modernist approach to God, for we are trying to find Jesus' approach to God. And we care very little at this time whether this or that Christian institution is saved or lost, for we are wrestling with the problem of trying to find out what Jesus would have done if he were placed in the midst of the great human needs that surge around us in China today.

And still again, the challenge of the anti-Christian movement has created in the Chinese Christian a sense of ownership in the work and a realization that he must rise and throw himself into the fore-

front of the battle line. Already here and there this realization is adding a sense of power and dignity hitherto found only rarely in his consciousness.

Now let me say a word about the spiritual purpose of the Christian movement in China. Many people are asking today, what has Christianity done for China? Did God create the Christian movement in order to give the Chinese people education through mission colleges, or to give them the blessings of the modern science of healing? Important and useful as these activities are, in my opinion they are but the by-products of the Christian movement. We cannot find our final answer in them.

What, then, is our final answer? The Christian movement was not born of man but created of God, and therefore we shall never get our final answer until in some way we have grasped the mind of God in this undertaking. All religions agree on one point, that is, God desires to reveal himself to man. He has been revealing himself to the Chinese people, and one record of this revelation can be traced in our literature. The earliest references to the supernatural or divine in our literature indicated our belief in a host of spirits inhabiting the universe. This conception gave place to a hierarchy of spirits with one Great Spirit ruling over them. A little further on we find that this hierarchy of spirits has receded into the background, and the Great Spirit, known as Heaven

or Shangti, is depicted as having direct relations with man and his doings. In this period (about 1000 B. C.) literature was replete with references to this God as guiding our emperors, punishing the people when they are wicked, and rewarding them when they are good. Next came a period of questioning and revolt against this God for his injustice, because the good as well as the wicked suffer in this world. Following this period, instead of being thought of as a great spiritual personality God became an abstract principle, the first cause of the universe, a law like the law of gravity. From that moment God receded from us, or rather we drew away from him, until today we can hardly find a term in our language to express the idea, the personality, of God.

The consequence of this drawing away from God in the life of the Chinese people was disastrous. When we lost our contact with the vital personality of God we became a people without a vision, and gradually we began to lose our creative capacity as a race. Art, literature, industry and government became stagnant, and for more than a thousand years China has been living on her past glories.

And so, in his divine providence, God inspired a missionary movement to China in order that the Chinese people might be led again to know him as a great spiritual personality whose nature is love, and whom we can come to know and love through Jesus

Christ. When we do come to know and love him we shall regain our creative genius as individuals and as a race, and a new people will rise in Asia. To me this is the supreme purpose of the Christian movement in China today. And this movement will go on until God has accomplished this purpose.

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The third question that comes to mind is that of the problems the Christian church is facing today in China. Thus far I have dealt with the future of Christianity in China in broad outline, as seen in its historical setting, in the personal life of Chinese Christians, and in the providence of God. I shall now touch briefly a few of the more pressing problems before the Chinese Christian church.

The first problem has to do with Chinese control. It is generally conceded that the time has come when all branches of Christian work in China should be placed in the hands of Chinese Christian bodies as rapidly as possible. Unfortunately we are in the baffling situation of not having a sufficient number of trained Chinese workers with a capacity for leadership able to take over this responsibility. What shall we do in such a situation?

The traditional policy has been to wait until the right type and quality of Chinese workers appear. But in following such a policy we forget that under

the present system of mission administration it is extremely difficult to produce and retain the type and quality of men needed for the work. If we hold on to the traditional policy of waiting for the right man, and at the same time continue a mission system which has not been successful in producing and retaining men of independent initiative and leadership, then we are condemning ourselves to travel within a vicious circle. What is needed now is to break up this vicious circle, take the men we have produced so far and build the Christian work around them. This may mean a temporary loss of efficiency, but I am sure it is the only way in which the right kind of Chinese Christian leadership will be developed.

The next problem has to do with the support of Christian work in China. Under normal circumstances, when one group of people takes over a piece of work from another group it also takes over the financial support. Yet here the Christian missions of the West are faced with the perplexing responsibility of continuing to support a work more or less administered by Chinese Christian bodies. Why are the Chinese Christians unable to assume the full financial support of the different forms of Christian work? Chiefly because the existing Christian institutions are built up on a scale far beyond the present economic capacity of Chinese Christians. If at this time the whole support should devolve upon Chinese

Christians, they could not possibly carry the load. For an indefinite period therefore the older churches in the West will be appealed to to help support Christian work in China until the young Chinese church is mature and resourceful enough to support itself.

The assumption of financial responsibility by Chinese Christians will come in two stages. Self-support in the field of local church work will come first. The support for churches, local churches, schools, preaching halls, and so forth, will be taken over by Chinese congregations rather rapidly during the next few years. The chief problem will come in the field of Christian institutions like the colleges and hospitals. Here some way must be found whereby Chinese Christian bodies can begin at once to assume financial responsibility, however slight. It is my conviction that the churches in the West can give us no more valuable help in this present situation than to take immediate steps to partially endow these institutions. If this could be done, it would bring their future support more nearly within the growing economic capacity of Chinese Christians.

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Men's minds are greatly exercised these days over the future of the whole missionary movement. Is there a place for the missionary movement in the life of the world in years to come?

Mankind in the past two thousand years has developed three great philosophies of life. These are the Hindu, the Chinese, and the Western conceptions. Each conception is built around some predominant control idea. The Hindu conception of life is centered round the idea of life between man and God; the true Hindu is a reverent and contemplative sort of person. The Chinese conception of life is centered round the idea of man and his mastery of nature. The West has produced a superb material civilization the equal of which the world has never seen.

This varying philosophy emphasizes one or two very simple facts. First of all, it exposes the fallacy of those who would claim superiority of one form of life over another. You cannot compare units which are different. For the Hindu to claim superiority of his conception of life over the Western or vice versa is about as reasonable as for a ball player to claim he is a better player than a tennis player. Secondly, it helps us to realize that all conceptions of life are incomplete by themselves. Because of this incompleteness, everywhere in the world today men are groaning with dissatisfaction and yearning for they know not what.

And we shall continue to groan and yearn until in some way these three great ideas of life are brought together into one. I see these three ideas coming into one in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. In him I see

the life of man with God developed to its highest form. In him I see the life of man with man exemplified in a most touching and compelling manner. In him I see the right use of material resources. Jesus came not to give us a church but a way of life—a way of abundant life, abundance not in the sense of quantity but of completeness.

And how can we bring about this new synthesis of life except as prophets and seers go from nation to nation and from people to people, interpreting and sharing with each other, until together we have built up in this world the fulness of life which God intends for us to have and enjoy? This, in essence, is the future missionary movement, whether it is called by that name or not. The missionary movement we have known has been mainly unilateral in character. The new day that is dawning in the life of the peoples of the world will call for a missionary movement that will be multi-lateral, if I may take a liberty with the English language. We are already seeing the beginning of such a movement in the world, and the next twenty-five years will, I feel sure, see it greatly augmented.

T. Z. Koo

Shanghai

VIII

YOUTH'S CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

TO the Christian youth of the West: We, the Christian youth of China, are taking this opportunity to address you, fellow Christians across the sea. Let us first of all lay before you our aspirations and ideals. Briefly, our youth movement has a twofold objective, to secure China's political independence, and to create a new type of civilization. The task of our political revolution, of which the establishment of the Chinese republic in 1911 was merely a phase, has never been fully accomplished. Externally China is not a sovereign nation. The presence of concessions, foreign warships and garrisons, huge indemnities, foreign control of customs, extraterritoriality, and a host of other causes have long impaired the sovereign rights of our nation. If China is to be free and to become a respected member of the family of nations, she must first rid herself of these handicaps. Internally she has had no peace for a number of years. On account of the sudden change of her form of government, the ambitious militarists in our nation have grabbed power and financial resources in their hands, and public sentiment against

their wrongdoings has been only gradual in making itself articulate. In order to have peace and prosperity, China must rid herself of these devouring warlords. Thus the restoration of her sovereign rights and of her internal peace and order constitutes the objective and the program of our political revolution, which is now in full swing. To the noble spirit and high purpose of this revolutionary program, we, the Christian youth of China, have thoroughly dedicated our loyalties and sympathies, whether we are directly participating in the task or not.

The effort to create a new type of civilization, though dating way back to the days of first cultural contacts between China and the West, came into bold relief about ten years ago, when the "renaissance movement" began. The Chinese renaissance, which has now become an established and potential factor in the life of our nation, is essentially a movement in the realm of thought and attitude. It is the critical attitude applied to the task of reevaluating China's spiritual heritage and modern Western civilization. On the whole, it pays homage to the Western ideal of science and democracy, although the leaders of the movement are fully aware of the fact that such an ideal has been nowhere completely realized. The significance of the so-called literary revolution, which displaced the outworn written style (*wen-li*) with the colloquial (*pai-hua*), and which may in a

true sense be regarded as a part of the renaissance, can only be grasped when one recalls a similar revolution enthroning the various European national languages in place of Latin, which had been practically the only written medium for the whole of Europe for fifteen hundred years.

The significant point is that both the political revolution and the renaissance are being led by our Chinese students, and so may truly be considered as a youth movement. Through this youth movement China has discovered a method in science, a principle in democracy, and a tool in the creation of public opinion. Furthermore, she has been steadily and resolutely pushing herself toward the goal where she will enjoy political liberty and prosperity, and where, through the creation of a new type of civilization, she will be able to make her contribution to the whole world.

Now the Christians, both foreign missionaries and Chinese, have certainly in days gone by done their part in bringing about the present youth movement. The founding of modern educational institutions and the translation of the Bible into the colloquial, to mention nothing more, will convince everyone of the truth of this statement. This being the case, one is naturally puzzled over the rise of the so-called anti-Christian movement. Since the Christians have done so much for modern China, is it forgetfulness or in-

gratitude on the part of the non-Christian Chinese that they should rise against the Christians and their work in China? What facts have they to justify the accusation that the missionaries are the vanguard of foreign imperialistic nations and the Chinese Christians are their hirelings? How can they prove that the missionaries in establishing hospitals and schools cherish ulterior and dangerous motives? If this is not gross injustice, what else can it be?

We Christian Chinese, knowing the psychology of both parties, feel it is our duty to bring them to a closer understanding. We can honestly assure you that it cannot be adequately accounted for by the explanation of forgetfulness or ingratitude or ignorance on the part of the non-Christian Chinese. The movement has its roots in China's desire to emancipate herself from foreign aggression. Whether we care to admit it or not, historically the introduction of Christianity into China was through force. The same has been true of the spreading of the gospel. The toleration clauses and the compulsory attendance on religious instruction and worship in mission schools and colleges are only some of the well-known instances in which the Christian method of love and self-sacrifice is given up in favor of the non-Christian method of force. The promiscuous relationship between Christianity and foreign aggressions, as in the Kiaochow case, serves only to confirm the suspi-

cion that has already dawned upon the mind of the non-Christian Chinese.

While the Boxer uprising took a fanatic and unfortunate turn, the present anti-Christian movement is, on the whole, much more moderate and rational and therefore more wholesome. These people resent the toleration clauses and other forms of unequal treaties; they oppose the compulsory method of religious education in mission schools; they agitate for government control over mission schools and for Chinese control over all forms of Christian work; and lastly they insist that religion, if needed at all, should be interpreted in terms of science and democracy. Though it is unfortunately true that those engaged in the movement have gone to extremes and have failed to be self-consistent in what they do and say, yet on the whole we must admit that there is much in their contention. By far the best way to meet the present situation is frankly to admit whatever is true and legitimate in their criticisms and demands, rather than to set up any counter movement.

However, this is not saying that we should in any sense endorse everything they say, for in showing a sympathetic attitude toward the causes of the anti-Christian movement it would still be necessary for us Christians to discriminate and to discern. In the first place, there is very little in the literature of the movement which has made Jesus Christ its object of

attack. This is a very significant fact. A sense of reassurance ought to be born in us that in the life, in the personality and spirit, of Jesus we have the one solid foundation. If we can get hold of this single element we can afford to let everything else go. Secondly, in more than one way we must honestly take a different stand from that of the anti-Christian agitators. They oppose, rightfully, the compulsory religious education method in mission schools; yet in its place they are now proposing to put in the doctrine of Sun Yat-sen and make that compulsory. They have pointed out the discrepancy that exists between what we profess and what we do; but they make the unwarranted assertion that religion in whatever form is a thing of the past and has no right to exist. Their demand for the cancellation of the unequal treaties is legitimate, but their accusation that all missionaries are the vanguard of capitalistic and imperialistic foreign nations, and that all Chinese Christians are their running dogs, has certainly no foundation in fact, to say the least.

Owing to the rising tide of nationalism and the anti-Christian movement, it is an undeniable fact that wherever the revolutionary troops have gone there has been molestation of Christians and suspension of Christian activities. Consequently there is on the part of Christians a great deal of anxiety and apprehension. What is going to be the future of Chris-

tianity in China is a question on the lips of almost all Christians today. Some feel the impending disaster so strongly, and at the same time find what they have appropriated from the Christian religion so meager and insecure, that they have either recanted their faith or gone over to the anti-Christian camp. But with the majority of Christians the prevailing attitude is one of uncertainty. Even the Christian youth, who are far from being afraid of undertaking difficulties and enduring hardships, even they are questioning whether the traditional Christian way of doing things is not ineffective for a time like this, and not a few of them have completely identified themselves with the revolutionary movement.

What we want especially to tell you, however, is this: that in the midst of this opposition, recanting, uncertainty and dissatisfaction there is still no real cause for alarm. Upon this point the more thoughtful youth in the church have more and more come to agree. To be sure, this is a difficult time, but then what is the use of Christianity if it has not in itself power and faith enough to overcome difficulties? Moreover, every fair-minded person must admit that on the whole there has not been for years a time more bright and hopeful than the present. Though the atmosphere everywhere is tense, yet it vibrates with enthusiasm, youthfulness and hope. If at such a time Christianity cannot make its contribution, when can

it ever expect to do so? We are, it is true, suspected, attacked and even persecuted, but what does that matter if we are steadfast?

The thoughtful elements in the Chinese church feel that this is essentially a period of transition. Nay, we may even say that the present is our golden opportunity. Though the Protestant mission, not to mention the Catholic mission, which has had a much longer history, has been at work in China for over a hundred years, yet it is an undeniable fact that Christianity today still remains a "foreign" religion. It is foreign because it has never been assimilated by the Chinese civilization and the Chinese race. Now it took Buddhism several centuries to become a Chinese faith. Even then its acceptance was possible only because Buddhism had been able to produce many devout and learned Chinese believers and priests. Somehow we feel the same process has to be repeated. Christianity cannot be a Chinese faith without paying the price. What Christianity is going to be in China will therefore depend on what we do now in this period of trial.

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Questions naturally arise: What place have the missionaries and the missionary enterprises in this new Chinese Christianity which is now in the making? Do the Chinese Christians still want the mis-

sionaries? If so, on what basis, and further, what can they do? If not, should they suddenly or gradually withdraw? To answer these and many other questions is by no means easy, but to reiterate some of our general attitudes and principles may not be out of place. In the first place, we, the Christian youth of China, feel greatly indebted to our missionary friends for what they have done. It is they who have introduced among us Christianity, modern education, medical and philanthropic work. They have made Christianity a powerful factor in the life of our nation, whether our non-Christian compatriots are willing to admit it or not. It is entirely due to them that we have now the beginning of a Chinese Christian church. In the second place we feel that the time has come for our missionary friends to hand over the control of the church and its various lines of activities to us. The building up of the Chinese church, we believe, is at once the initial motive and the ultimate end of the mission movement.

In effecting this transition, of course, there are many practical difficulties to be considered, even though we all agree as to the principle. Suppose the mission boards should decide to turn over the church and school buildings and other property rights to the Chinese Christians; will these properties be properly taken care of and used for the purposes originally intended? Further, the handing over of

control naturally means rapid decrease in mission funds from abroad; and at the same time, in view of the infant stage in which the Chinese Christian movement is today, sufficient Chinese funds for the maintenance of Christian work will not be available. Is there not grave danger that much of the Christian work which is now carried on by mission funds may, under Chinese control, suffer sudden curtailment, that it may even be brought to an early standstill? To all such dangers we are not blind. We may indeed not be able to carry on what our predecessors have built up for us. We may not come up to their expectation, we may even terribly disappoint them. But that is no reason for not letting us try. As man learns only by doing, and through the method of trial and error chiefly, the same principle ought to apply here.

To say that control should be handed over to the Chinese is, however, far from saying that the missionaries should leave China. On the contrary, we want emphatically to assert that Christianity, no matter where it is found, should be international in sympathy, in vision, and in outreach. There could be no greater curse in the history of mankind than a Christianity expressed within narrow and exclusively national limits. The religion of Jesus Christ is international, and the Christian movement in any nation is this Christian internationalism at work. For this reason we not only welcome your missionaries who

come to help us, but also expect to send Chinese Christian missionaries to your lands before very long. Missionaries should receive no special protection from treaties. They should not carry with them the power to control. They should trust no other force except the good-will of the people whom they serve. This is only another way of saying, "If any man wishes to walk in my steps, let him renounce self, and take up his cross and follow me." In view of this command of Jesus, we cannot help being somewhat surprised by what is now happening, viz., the general evacuation of many mission stations in the revolutionary areas. We cannot help feeling that in some cases our missionary friends have shown more respect for the advices of their governments than for the command of God or the dictates of their own consciences. If there is a time in the history of the Chinese church when the Christians, including the missionaries, need to stand together through a difficult period, looking ahead to a great and promising future, it is now.

We have come more and more to notice a tendency on the part of the liberal missionaries to "get discouraged." These missionaries are so much in sympathy with the rising tide of nationalism and with the Chinese church movement that they feel their own presence is a handicap rather than a help. So they are ready to pack up whenever they get a hint,

either real or imaginary, from their Chinese co-workers. On account of the changing environment they now begin to direct their attention to the unchristian aspects in the life of their home lands and to wonder whether their field of service is not, after all, there. Among this group there are even some who, after having spent some time in studying the spiritual and cultural background of China, begin to wonder whether China needs the Christian religion at all. For all their sense of modesty, genuine goodwill and sincerity we feel very thankful. Only we want frankly to tell them that they are the very missionaries we need. It would be wrong for them to leave us. Over against them there are so many others, dogmatic, irritating and haughty, whose sole purpose in coming to China is to vindicate the superiority of the Western civilization and to convert the heathen Chinese. Between the two our choice must be self-evident.

Now in insisting upon this preferred type of missionary, our intention is not to minimize the importance of the tasks in your home-lands. On the contrary, we too feel that your work at home may be even more important. The task of christianizing life is certainly not complete anywhere in this world, and we know that you have your hands full with problems. Take your youth movement for peace, for instance. What it took you years to build up, your

militarists and politicians are undermining in a day. Or think of the pressure that is being brought to bear by the capitalistic group upon your outstanding religious organizations, and the way in which these religious organizations are actually succumbing; for example, the recent Detroit case. Think of your industrial and racial problems, and many other problems which we need not go into here. So if you feel that your call is there, by all means stay at home, for whatever you may be able to accomplish there will certainly strengthen the missionary work abroad.

We feel that we are at the threshold of a new era of Christian missions. The old motives and methods have become outworn, new and better ones are gradually emerging. The one-sided propagandist method must give way to a humble and mutual search after truth. Missionary work must be put on a mutual exchange basis. If the duty of the missionaries is to teach, it is equally their duty to learn. Offering his life as a living sacrifice to God; renouncing all dependence on the special protection of any treaties; trusting only the good-will of the people he works with; identifying himself with the Chinese church, if not with the Chinese nation; eager to learn, willing to follow, quick to respond to the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people; courageous in fighting social and moral evils, no matter where such evils are found—such is the new type of missionary

that is needed. What profession can be more glorious than this? It challenges the very best that is in a man. In it there is romance, poetry and spiritual satisfaction.

Christianity is being tried today in China. No one can be sure as to what the future is going to be, for possibilities are many. Christianity may be greatly persecuted by the people and the government. It may be utilized by ambitious and crafty politicians. Or it may be welcomed by the people with open arms. Though possibilities are many, yet of one thing we can be quite sure; namely, if the Christians, both Chinese and missionaries, are spiritually prepared, we need have no fear of the future. The Christian spirit will eventually triumph. Why, then, should we yield to discouragement over the future?

P. C. Hsu

Peking

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